

# Afghanistan through Pakistani looking glass

By DON NORTH

THE British Caledonian flight to London that was cancelled on Monday night was grounded because of an unusual last-minute refusal to let the plane fly over Afghanistan.

More than 100 passengers were left stranded but later accommodated free of charge at the Regent Hotel, and most left Hongkong on flights last night.

British Caledonian manager Mr K.F. Ho said a request to the Afghanistan Government for overflying clearance was made on Sunday when a 747 aircraft had technical problems, and a Cathay jet had to be chartered as a replacement.

The original British Caledonian flight was scheduled to stop in Dubai, but because no Cathay flight crew was available in the Middle East for a changeover, it was decided to fly non-stop to London and alter the original flight path.

As the altered route involved flying over Afghanistan, an overflying clearance was required.

"We received clearance from every other country, including Russia, and then 30 minutes before take-off, we got a refusal from Afghanistan," said Mr Ho.

Passengers were already in the departure lounge, luggage was being loaded on to the aircraft, and the flight crew was about to warm up the engines when the refusal came through by telex.

As it was too late to re-route the flight once again, management had no alternative but to cancel the flight, Mr Ho said.

"Afghanistan didn't give a reason why, but it could be that they are playing games with the British Government, which doesn't recognise the current government there," he speculated.

However, British Caledonian's general manager, Mr Graham Broadbridge, said later that he thought it was unlikely that there was a political motive behind the refusal.

He also pointed out that British Caledonian had in the past been granted permission for overflying rights on other routings, and that British Airways and Cathay each flew over Afghanistan.

Overflight requests were routinely made and granted, he added.

Peshawar: James Bond would have been right at home in Peshawar. Spying has been a growth industry here ever since Francis Gary Powers took off in his U-2 from the local airport and was downed over the Soviet Union in 1960.

There are said to be more spies in this exile war zone now than in Berlin, traditionally the espionage centre of the world. Peshawar, in fact, is crawling with Russian KGB, Afghan KHAD and Pakistani Special Branch agents.

This mysterious complement is filled out by arms merchants, drug dealers, mercenaries and journalists. All have come to deal with the seven mujahideen Afghan resistance groups based near the border.

Journalists in Peshawar usually stay at Dean's Hotel, a rambling complex of bungalows built in the days of the British Raj.

To order a beer, a customer fills out three sets of documents and swears he will not give it to a Muslim. The room boys and porters are rumoured to be KHAD and KGB agents and the rooms bugged by Pakistani intelligence.

A famous story has it that one room had a painting of Mt Fujiyama on the wall. One night the mountain gave out an ear-splitting squeal. But with a 10 per cent discount for journalists, a room at Dean's (about HK\$155, the equivalent of US\$20 (about HK\$155).

Every taxi driver waiting outside Dean's Hotel knows where the mujahideen can be found. Located in the suburbs of Peshawar, the rebel headquarters occupy large villas, surrounded by high walls and a dozen guards armed to the teeth.

Getting inside is easy — finding someone who speaks English and has the authority to book a reporter on to the next operation going into Afghanistan is the hard part.

With luck, an American journalist will get tea and a spot in front of the line. But it may take many days of visits before a journalist will meet the right PR man in the group who speaks English, along with a commander with enough clout to put him on a combat operation.

During a half dozen visits to the headquarters, both the journalist and mujahideen attempt to convince each other of their importance, and if both are convinced, an agreement is made to accompany the group into Afghanistan.

All seven rebel groups welcome journalistic attention to varying degrees, as they realise the importance of media atten-



□ Mujahideen soldiers: media attention is important.

tion and are often upset by the lack of it. Inviting a journalist on an operation, however, invites special attention from Soviet forces, and in many ways can endanger an operation.

To convince the muj the risk is worthwhile, it is helpful to have an ally they trust. One that journalists vied for was John Dixon of the United States Information Service.

Dixon, who recently left Peshawar after a three-year tour, knew all the cast of characters and how they fit the complexities of the story.

He had become expert at helping match journalists to the group and area that would produce the best coverage for whatever time and resources the journalist could afford.

The muj have become particularly adept at smuggling journalists inside and set aside bribe money for that purpose. It often means days of delay in waiting for the right moment to cross the border and, as any reporter soon learns, a charade that includes dressing to look like the most cut throat members of the Muslim Afghan resistance.

Dressing for war in Afghanistan is mandatory for a Western journalist. The idea is to look as much like the muj as you can so you don't attract the attention of spies or special attention from Soviet patrols. It is also important when crossing into Afghanistan from Pakistan that you do not look like a foreigner.

Of all seven groups, Mahaz-e-Milli Front — the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan — seemed most interested in having journalists cover their operations. They are not the largest or strongest muj group, but they are more Western-oriented.

When the morning of departure came, two reporters were ready by 5 am in their best muj disguises — baggy cotton pants with matching shirt down to the knees, the basic dress of Afghan and Pathan tribesmen.

A *patou*, the wool shawl all muj wear, was wrapped around for warmth — and camouflage. Turbans, or a brown *chitrali* hat, along with a week's growth of black beard and face stained with a tea bag completed the Westerner's Afghan costume.

"I don't want to die there," complained one Peshawar journalist as he bought his muj garb for a trip inside, "but I particularly don't want to die looking like a clown."

Crammed in a small jeep for the nine-hour, bone-jarring drive to the border crossing point, the entourage passed without problems through six army and police checkpoints. A French woman journalist wore a faded blue *chadri*, the traditional women's dress in Afghanistan that completely covers the face.

The reporters pretended to sleep through each checkpoint and grumbled a few words in Pushtu if questioned. But just a few kilometres from the border

Cont. on p. 16

## Asking Afghans about Zahir Shah is like asking U.S. Republicans about Eisenhower.

By S. J. MASTY

**PESHAWAR** — Though the latest Geneva talks seem to have stalled, many Afghans and some outsiders pin their hopes for a negotiated settlement on a frail 74-year-old exile who hasn't seen his homeland for nearly 15 years.

To many people Afghanistan's monarch for four decades, Zahir Shah, could lead his countrymen home to democracy and allow the Soviets to leave Afghanistan with their pride intact. But the most active mujahidin, belonging to the conservative religious parties that do the most damage to the Soviet invaders, regard the former king as anathema, a weak decadent who paved the way for the Russian invasion. Those fighters are the emerging grass-roots leaders.

Eight years after the invasion, the Afghans are tired of war and life in refugee camps. They see no lasting political leadership coming from the heads of the seven resistance parties, once powerful but now little more than conduits for weapons to commanders who fight in unison over the border. Afghans would welcome a settlement but only with an unconditional Soviet withdrawal and no power-sharing with the communist regime. Both Moscow and Kabul have hinted broadly that Zahir Shah, now living in Rome, might be a mutually acceptable head of state.

Asking Afghans about Zahir Shah is like asking Republicans about Eisenhower: The conservatives, recalling Hungary and other foreign policy debacles, pronounce him weak while those more devoid of ideology praise him even for '57 Chevys and other pleasant memories for which he may not have been responsible.

A straw-poll of refugees in Pakistan, conducted by the former dean of arts at Kabul University, Sayed B. Majrooh, said 71% named Zahir Shah as their first choice to lead a free Afghanistan. About 1% listed party leaders or commanders by name, and 22% said they wanted "a pure Islamic state" or would be happy with "any non-communist, Moslem Afghan." Importantly but unavoidably, the survey did not include those fighting inside Afghanistan, and some critics of the survey say the refugees are so suspicious of strangers that they give answers they think the local authorities want to hear.

Moreover, although the king has a sizable following it may be premature to ask a population that spends so much time fighting to pick future candidates. To many Afghans, predominantly the peasant folk, Zahir Shah is the only well-known national leader who is non-

communist and still alive. Thus the king's natural constituency is the rather politically unsophisticated peasantry and the secular or religiously moderate aristocracy from big cities like Kabul or Kandahar, who are intimidated by the strength and energy of the conservatives.

Zahir Shah ascended the throne at age 19 when his father was assassinated in 1933. He reigned for 40 years, though all but the last decade was under the shadow of those more decisive or powerful: a clique of uncles for 20 years, and then under his cousin and brother-in-law, Prime Minister Muhammad Daoud, for another decade. Mr. Daoud resigned in 1963 and, until he overthrew the king in a 1973 coup, Zahir Shah embarked tepidly on a number of democratic reforms.

The king's first problem, says the leading Western expert on Afghan history, Louis Dupree of Duke University, "is that he was never a leader of men and always a follower of women," an allusion to Zahir Shah's reputation as a European playboy. This is something not lost on his fundamentalist critics.

The king finally had his chance to govern in 1963. But Mr. Dupree says that indecision was his undoing: "Kings historically have never been a unifying factor in Afghanistan. They've been brutal or coercive but never unifying. Before Zahir Shah came to power there had been two kings overthrown and one assassinated. Then he reigned while others ruled. He had his chance."

Some resistance party leaders, e.g., Sibgatullah Mojaddidi, a former theology professor from a moderate establishment family, endorse the king. "If the Soviets will not agree to a mujahidin government, and we will have no coalition with the communist parties, then there must be a third solution," he said, "a neutral man who can establish a neutral government and then we will have elections."

Others are strongly opposed: "We take him as a Russian emissary," says conservative Qazi Amin, who began fighting the socialist Mr. Daoud two years before the 1978 communist coup. Now independent from the seven parties, he sums up the feelings of both the "Old Guard" who fought Mr. Daoud, and many "Young Turks" who were raised in the holy war and who don't remember the king.

He sees a return of Zahir Shah as a repetition of past mistakes, bringing in a corrupt old elite that would thwart democracy and open doors for the Soviets to return after a temporary withdrawal. "In 40 years of power he did nothing to modernize the country," Mr. Amin said, "but did pave the way for the Russians. He brought in Russian experts to run the mines in the north; he accepted legalized communist parties and opened the polytechnic that became a stronghold of communism; and he gave them control of training our military... he's being offer-

ed as a tasty morsel but none of us wants to take the bait."

No doubt Zahir Shah looks appealing to many powers negotiating the Afghans' fate. For Pakistan he would be a quiet neighbor and perhaps a ticket home for its 3.2 million Afghan house guests. To the Soviets he was certainly never an enemy of Moscow, and—if they are truly serious about withdrawal—he is maybe the best they can do, since without the Soviets the communist regime is certainly doomed. For the U.S., agreeing on an interim government would advance the talks to critical details of how and when the Russians might leave. These details are crucial to learning if Mr. Gorbachev is serious or just buying time to depopulate Afghanistan and retrench.

However, the real decision-making power resides with the Afghans who alone can decide if and when to stop fighting and go home.

While it could be argued that the party leaders, the majority of whom are conservative and anti-king, are not proportionally representative of public opinion, they are certainly representative of the fighters who hold importance greater than their numbers suggest. As regional leaders with residential and troop support inside Afghanistan, they spend at least as much time as provincial mayors and governors as they do fighting. As activists they have strong opinions that when turned to national politics will carry great popular influence.

After years of relative silence, this year Zahir Shah announced that he is eager to help his people in any way possible and he insists, as do the fighters and refugees, that there is no room in any settlement for Soviet troops or power-sharing with the communist regime. Mr. Mojaddidi believes that if the king were to visit Pakistan's refugee camps for the first time, his popularity would eclipse the parties.

The big question is what happens if Mr. Mojaddidi is right. Even more dramatic, what if the Geneva negotiators and their superpower backers cut a deal for Zahir Shah over the heads of the resistance fighters?

As early as 1976 the conservatives moved their families to Pakistan and made war, first against Mr. Daoud, later against the Afghan communists and finally the Soviets. Their abortive 1976 rebellion in Pakia province and elsewhere failed for lack of public resentment against Mr. Daoud as well as for their lack of martial skill. Nearly all the major commanders are veterans of those early days.

After 11 years of fighting they have the arms and military prowess, and the ordeal of war and homelessness increased conservative strength considerably. Were an unacceptable leader imposed upon them from without, and they continued fighting as they pledge to do, a Soviet reinvansion could be excused with Moscow's old charge that the Afghans are incapable of self-rule.

Mr. Dupree, arguing that at present rates a negotiated settlement is at least



Zahir Shah

five years away, recommends that Pakistan and the U.S. ignore Zahir Shah and wait for grass-roots leaders to emerge in the largely liberated areas of Afghanistan. They are already emerging, and anything else would prematurely damage the strides toward self-government that have already been made.

*Mr. Mastly is editor of the Humanitarian News Service based in Peshawar.*

ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL

OCTOBER 7, 1987

## Three visitors talk about war

By KIRK MOORE

Press Times Rome Bureau

**TOMS RIVER** — Fierce guerrilla fighters and the distant, ominous glint of helicopters sweeping across the sky are the pictures most Westerners see of the war in Afghanistan.

To some Afghans, it doesn't deserve to be called a war.

"It should be called genocide," said Mohammad Zalmay, a former Afghan jurist who fled his homeland after the Soviet invasion eight years ago and now heads the Pakistan-based National Committee for Human Rights in Afghanistan.

"It's against the villages," Zalmay said yesterday during an interview here. "It's not 'fighting'... (but rather) well-organized, well-trained troops against unarmed villagers."

Zalmay, a graduate of the Kabul School of Islamic Law who later studied at America's George Washington University, was a judge before the Soviet invasion of December 1979.

Now Zalmay and two members of his private group based in Peshawar, Pakistan, are visiting the United States to talk about the suffering of Afghans to encourage pressure on the Soviets for better treatment of Afghan prisoners and to seek help for 5 million refugees, most surviving in poorly equipped camps in Pakistan.

With Zalmay are two other anti-Soviet activists, who use only one name after the customs of many Afghans: Dilawar, a former mining engineer who was arrested, tortured and imprisoned for two years by the communist police, and Azizullah, a teacher and writer who also suffered torture before his release from prison and escape from the country in 1982.

The three men carry color snapshots, some showing the familiar images of tough, rifle-toting mountaineers posing aloft wicked Soviet tanks. Most of the photos concentrate on the other face of the war — children maimed by small anti-personnel mines, civilians with severed limbs, shattered farming villages.

The group has ledger-size books with photocopied pages, recording individual attacks on villages by Soviet units and troops of the communist regime in Kabul. Each form-like page records the time and date of the attack, number of civilian casualties, and the weapons used — small arms, bayonets, tanks, helicopter gunships.

"We do fight, with the paper and the pen," Zalmay said of his group. "Just getting news out of Afghanistan is almost impossible. The Soviets control all transmissions.... That's why we set up the office in Peshawar...."

Both Azizullah and Dilawar had written for Afghan newspapers before their imprisonment, and now they are correspondents again, periodically crossing into Afghanistan from Pakistan to record the war's toll. Despite years of intense anti-guerrilla efforts by the Soviets, last winter saw a resurgence of heavy fighting in many parts of the country.

Early this year, Azizullah said, he encountered a farm village that cowered for a week under periodic shelling and air attacks, killing 15 inhabitants. In the Peach Valley region of southeast Afghanistan Jan. 15, Dilawar said, he witnessed an attack by helicopter gunships that killed 126 civilians on an open road, most of them women and children.

Such stories, Dilawar said, "are a drop from an ocean."

Are Afghan visitors to the United States looking for more weapons, Zalmay was asked, such as Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, to use on the Soviets' gunship fleet?

"Even a pen, a paper, a pack of medicine, a few books," Zalmay replied.

"Whenever a nation is under aggression," Dilawar added, "it needs every aid it can get."

Oct. 14 **Asbury Park Press**

## SOVIETS & US TALK

### ON AFGHANISTAN

By ANTERO PIETILA  
The Baltimore Sun

**MOSCOW** — The Soviet Union and the United States are conducting unprecedented secret consultations on the makeup of an interim government in Afghanistan that would oversee the pullout of Soviet troops, diplomatic sources reported yesterday.

The consultations were begun last month during Soviet Foreign Minister Edmund A. Shevardnadze's visit to Washington, where he met extensively with Secretary of State George P. Shultz and met President Reagan. The process will continue when Mr. Shultz visits Moscow Oct. 21-23, sources said.

If the planned summit meeting between President Reagan and Kremlin leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev takes place later this year, the Afghan civil war is expected to become a major item on that agenda as well.

In the consultations now under way, the superpowers are far apart on what role either the Afghan Communists or the Islamic guerrillas should play in the transitional government. Nevertheless, diplomats said, the fact that the consultations have begun appears to be a sign that chances of a political settlement are improving in Afghanistan's 9-year-old civil war.

The Soviet Union and Pakistan have been exchanging views on an interim government for at least a year. In the past, the United States has rejected Soviet attempts to be drawn into such exchanges, arguing that its transitional government is an interim matter for Afghanistan to settle, sources said. What prompted the change of heart in

Washington is not clear. But at last month's Shultz-Shevardnadze meeting, the Americans agreed to start consultations on scenarios for a transition.

According to the Moscow-based sources, who are familiar with the superpower discussions but declined to be further identified, the Gorbachev leadership has become increasingly convinced that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was a mistake. The Kremlin is said to feel that any further long-term military involvement in that country would only compound that mistake and adversely affect the Soviet Union's ability to maneuver in the international arena.

Moscow's invasion of Afghanistan, launched to ensure that a Marxist government would remain in power, scuttled debate between the superpowers and started years of acrimony that only now is beginning to level off. On the battlefields, the Soviets have recently experienced soaring losses as the Islamic guerrillas have received increasing amounts of state-of-the-art American weapons, including Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

Despite the Kremlin's perceived desire to pull out of Afghanistan, sources say they are not certain that the Soviet Union is ready yet to acknowledge that it also has suffered an irreparable political defeat in that country.

"Sometimes one gets the impression that they are hoping to win through negotiations what they lost in the war," one diplomat said. For example, the Soviets told the Americans initially that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan now in power in

## MEDICAL AID FOR AFGHAN FIGHTERS

To the Editor: May I bring to the attention of your readers the desperate need of Afghanistan freedom fighters for rehabilitative medical services in the United States?

Fifteen years, the vast majority of Afghan citizens have fought an invasion by a militarily superior foreign force to a near standstill, but the cost in human life and suffering has been enormous. Medical facilities for the Mujahidin inside Afghanistan are practically nonexistent, and the severely wounded who are lucky enough to make it walk to Pakistan, where they are cared for as well as possible in Pakistan government-supported hospitals. The more severely wounded are evaluated by volunteers in the International Medical Corps and other international groups and are sent for more sophisticated care and rehabilitation to countries in Europe and North America.

Our recent experience with a 24-year-old Afghan fighter has been humbling and rewarding. After four previous injuries, his left arm was severely injured by a missile fired from a tank. The University of Chicago Medical Center is providing his hospital care, his wrist and elbow are being reconstructed by surgeon Daniel Mass, and he is living in student housing and has received enormous support from students and the local Afghan community (such a group exists in every large city in the United States).

The purpose of my letter is to suggest that other physicians may wish to organize medical care on a humanitarian basis in their own communities for these injured fighters. Information and medical dossiers on these persons are available from the Intergovernmental Committee on Migration in Washington, D.C. (telephone: (202) 662-7099) or from the office of Senator Gordon J. Humphrey, head of the Senate Task Force on Afghanistan.

The patients are flown by the U.S. Air Force directly to the host city, and sponsors provide medical care, hospital facilities, and living accommodations. After they receive medical care, the patients are returned to Pakistan by the Intergovernmental Committee on Migration.

Whether motivated by political or strictly humanitarian sentiments, there is an enormous need for assistance, and physicians can help the suffering country of Afghanistan in a direct way.

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The NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL OF MEDICINE Sept. 3, 1987

Kabul insists on controlling four key posts in the interim Cabinet. Those posts are internal affairs, defense, finance and justice, sources said.

The United States immediately rejected that demand as unrealistic. According to sources, the Americans told the Soviets that the seven Pakistan-based main rebel groups would never accept a Communist-controlled interim government that might try to liquidate returning guerrillas.

The superpowers are now trying to work out a compromise that then could be presented to all sides involved. Ultimately, the two countries also would have to make a recommendation on what role, if any, Afghanistan's former king, Mohammed Zahir Khan, should play in the interim government.

The Soviets have expressed an interest in including the exiled king in the future political settlement. But only three of the seven main guerrilla organizations want the time included.

An even thornier issue, according to the sources, is the Soviet Union's insistence on guarantees to prevent any violent retribution against those who have supported the Marxist government.

According to the sources, Moscow is particularly worried that it might be forced to accept 500,000 to 750,000 supporters of the Marxist government as refugees on Soviet soil. The Kremlin does not want them.

The Soviets fear that the Islamic fundamentalist guerrillas might reat-

tach against those who served or supported the Marxist government, or who accepted land from it under an agrarian reform program.

Also under discussion is the superpower consultations is the problem of assuring Afghanistan's neutrality, which in Moscow's view means guarantees that non-aligned future governments would not adopt an anti-Soviet political stance, and, particularly, would not accept anti-Soviet foreign military bases.

The Soviet concerns, diplomats said, are prompted by the recent spread of militant Islam in the region as well as by historical considerations. In the 1920s, Afghanistan was often used as a base by guerrillas trying to prevent the establishment of Communist power in the Soviet Central Asian republics across the border.

ASBURY PARK PRESS 107



Afghan expert Dilawar

AFGHAN NEWS (Jamiat) carried an interview with Ahmad Shah Masood in its Sept. & Oct. issues. The following is from Part 3 (Vol.3, #19, 10/1/87) & describes the activities of the Supervisory Council of the North (SCN):

The 1st achievement of the SCN was the elimination of internal divisions & differences & the creation of unity among Jamiat Mujahideen. In the past there was no cooperation & coordination in the activities of Jamiat members in different provinces...As a 1st step, the SCN eliminated this state of affairs by the creation of a united center. The establishment of such a center for 5 provinces is not a small task.

The 2nd step was to organize various regions according to certain rules & principles. From our point of view, there are 2 types of regions:

(1) mountainous regions favorable for bases & (2) flat areas. The SCN was able to organize well its mountainous regions all the way from Badakhshan to the north of Kabul & Paghman in a relatively short time.

The fact that the SCN was able to establish safe & strong bases in these sensitive mountain areas is a great achievement.

As a 3rd step, from a political point of view, the SCN was able to establish regional unions among different Mujahideen organizations (except for Hezb Islami in some cases) in Kunduz, Takhar & Baghlan. This allows Mujahideen forces to face the enemy together & to undertake joint operations. This is unprecedented. Moreover, the SCN has played a role in settling the differences among other Mujahideen organizations. Wherever there is a problem, representatives of the SCN will solve it & prevent internal clashes.

From a military point of view...our various bases are completely ready for defense against Russian attacks. That was not so in the past. More importantly, not only will each base defend itself individually, but other bases will launch simultaneous attacks...

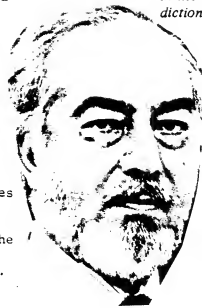
Another achievement of the SCN has been the conquest of the 3 main enemy garrisons in less than a year. First the Ferkhar garrison was captured & the area liberated, then the Mehrin Garrison &, recently, the Kalafgan Garrison... The SCN succeeded in training a cadre for forming an Islamic Army in the future. Members of this cadre are generally highly educated, have good characters, have received higher military training & have participated in the armed Jihad in the past several years. Such individuals are gathered in Central Units & trained as future commanders & officers so they could play a basic role in the establishment of an Islamic Army.

From an economic point of view, the SCN provided economic assistance to the people last year when we had a drought. It also provided loans to the farmers so they could cultivate their lands. It also provided help to internal refugees. More importantly, last year the SCN stopped the migration of thousands of families to Pakistan. It assured them that it could provide them with help & defend them against Russian attacks.

From a cultural & educational point of view, the SCN has established a new educational system in its bases (and other areas under its control). In each base tens of schools have been established; schools are more crowded & active than in the past & their activities are well organized.



Ahmad Shah Masood



Pir Gailani

Excerpts from an interview with Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani and THE MUSLIM, a Pakistani paper, which was reprinted in THE FRONT, #1, Vol. 2:

"In our opinion", Pir Gailani said, "every Muslim Afghan has the right to participate, at any time, in the Jihad, and if Zahir Shah has not participated so far, he might explain it some day. Zahir Shah owes more to the Afghan nation than anybody else because he was the King for 40 years and the people respected him. It would be a gross political offence," Gailani continued, "if he did not participate now but only as an Afghan citizen."

When asked to comment on the statement of another resistance leader the Hezb Islami's Yunus Khalis, in which he said women will not have voting rights, Pir Gailani said: "Firstly, it is Khalis' own political point of view. Second, even before in Afghanistan it was difficult for women in all parts of the country to participate, with participation generally confined to cities. As far as voting is concerned in accordance with Islam, so long as it is done in 'hijab' and purdah, I see no restrictions on women to vote. And when I say hijab, I refer to safeguarding women's honour." But he also said that "in present conditions it may be difficult for women to vote because in the cities we (the resistance) have no jurisdiction right now".

Asked to comment on the wide public assessment in Pakistan that an escalation of the war is in the offing which will dim the chances of a negotiated peace, Pir Gailani said: "This war has been imposed on us. We are not the aggressors but the aggrieved. We are fighting for principles. If the negotiations are against those principles, for example if the present Kabul regime is allowed to stay, then all our efforts will go down the drain." He emphasized that if a settlement was not "fair", the Mujahideen will not agree to it. Pir Gailani said that "we are very happy that the people of Pakistan are not forcing us into an unjust settlement even though they want peace and don't want the war to continue".

Discussing Soviet moves, he said, "We had never wronged the Russians. We thought we were very good friends with them. And this is the result". Pir Gailani said this "Soviet insincerity" should be instructive to others. But, he added, "even now, if the Russians settle the war fairly, we will be prepared to have normal, neighbourly relations with them. "It is up to them to redress what they have done in order to forge a cordial relationship for the future".

## OUSTINGS IN THE DRA

Fifteen members of the Central Committee of Afghanistan's Marxist ruling party were ousted in a purge of allies of former Afghan leader Babrak Karmal, who was replaced earlier by Najibullah. Kabul radio said Karmal's half-brother, Mahmood Barzai, and Anahita Ratebzad, a close associate of Karmal and long one of the top women

in the Afghan leadership, were among those removed by the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party. New members were named to the Central Committee and the Politburo in changes reportedly made to consolidate Najibullah's power before a coming party conference. LA Times

10/18

## Reports on Torture:

Horrible details of torture by Afghans by the Soviet and Kabul authorities have been revealed by a team of six international law specialists who have been investigating allegations of war crimes in Afghanistan.

These specialists have operated as an independent investigation body under the sponsorship of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan.

The main objective of the team's inquiry was to investigate, document and draw legal conclusions as to allegations of violations of laws of war in Afghanistan since Soviet military intervention into that country.

These specialists interviewed more than 100 Afghan witnesses who came from every province and from every political party. They received testimony from more than 40 torture victims who said they had been tortured at Khad bases in the presence of Soviet soldiers. Some of them were taken to sleep and food deprivation as well as electric shock treatment, with wires attached to the tongue, toes, and other delicate parts of the body.

The parts of the body striking feature was that torture continued for months or even years. These incidents are a clear violation of the Geneva convention, of the international covenant on civil and political rights which both the Kabul regime and Soviet Union have ratified.

The team said that Afghan civilians were both the victims of indiscriminate attacks and purposefully targeted.

Attacks were launched against villages in which there were no Afghan Mujahideen and from which the Mujahideen attacks had been launched despite the fact that the international law prohibited the targeting of the civilian population.

Fundamental rule of the international law is the principle of protection of persons not taking an active role in hostilities.

The team noted that acts of genocide had been committed by the Kabul and Soviet forces in violation of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide in which both Kabul and Moscow are parties.

The team noted that there had been substantial population of large areas of Afghanistan. The team gathered evidence of the targeting of mosques and schools as well as the Soviet attempt to supplant them with Marxist-Leninism. The Soviet Government had acknowledged that Afghan children are being sent to the USSR for education. Cumulative evidence indicated that the Kabul regime as well as the Soviet Government are pursuing a complex and mediated attack on a traditional Afghan society and its values.

This team of international law specialists have recorded their findings in an interim report. They will publish final report which would be made available later on.

The team is headed by Dr. Mark Maginn of Malta. It consisted of the Americans and French and Europeans. The other members of the team included: Mr. James J. Hume of New York, Mr. Frank House, Professor of Law and Essex University, Britain, Mr. Coran Melander, Professor of Law at Lund University in Sweden and Mr. W. Michael Reisman, Professor of Law at Yale University Law School. —APP 3/5

## In the Prisons:

Sept. 1: At least 30,000 persons are living in miserable conditions in the prisons and torture camps of Khad in Afghanistan in which two-third strength was

kept in Puli-Charkhni prison of Kabul.

The Jamiat-i-Islami Commander Ferouzuddin Afzali in Badkhash province of the Soviet Union told Agency Afghan Press, Peshawar correspondent in an interview that the prisoners are kept without food and water in the camps of Khad while 'dangerous persons' have to undergo the terrible torture and suffer from the electric shocks to the sensitive parts of their bodies.

Commander Ferouzuddin Afzali who had been released from Herat jail after the detention of four years in July last said that most of the prisoners died due to severe punishments and their relatives remain unaware of the fate of the prisoners.

According to Mujahid Commander the average strength of prisoners is over 1,000 in every province but 40,000 Afghan civilians have been kept in Puli-Charkhni prison of Kabul which is filled four times more than the capacity. The supply of food and water to the prisoners are transferred to Puli-Charkhni jail. The majority of the prisoners are kept without any court proceedings.

Mr Ferouzuddin Afzali giving the details of his arrest told that he was arrested in April 1985. He was captured during the operation in Dast-e-Marza area of Herat on the morning of April 21. He was tortured in the interrogation camp of Khad for about six months. He was sent to the prison of Herat City. The Mujahid Commander said that the invading Soviet authorities had released the prisoners after their arrest and the so-called centre and national reconciliation.

He said that releasing the prisoners was stopped as the Mujahideen and Afghan people had rejected the so-called national reconciliation campaign. 9/2

## National Reconciliation

KABUL, Sept. 1: Afghan Radio broadcasts daily a paean on love-your-neighbour. Since January, Radio Kabul has been broadcasting songs devoted to the single theme: the policy of national reconciliation through which the Government hopes to end the eight-year-old civil war in the Hindu Kush.

But an end to the conflict is not in sight though there are signs of several solutions on the political horizon. The Afghan resistance forces are negotiating with the hands with Kabul nearly eight months after announcing the policy of national reconciliation.

The 30-year-old General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has admitted that real success for his policy worked out with or by Moscow is still far from coming. "It's true that not all the fruits from the tree of that policy are very many and there are too many who are 'so far', Najib recently conceded after a stock-taking visit to Moscow. There is still a little for Najib to celebrate.

After the ceasefire unilaterally declared by the Soviet Union, the intensity of fighting increased. The Government has put up posters declaring the Capital, which is the destination of refugees from the country, to be "city of peace" and lifted the night curfew. But the life in Kabul is still far from the visitor to be less tense than a year ago, the countryside round the city remains as bleak as ever for Soviet and Afghan soldiers.

Even diplomats from states sympathetic to the regime admit "The war is apparently claiming more victims than ever among the population."

The Government has announced a general amnesty for rebels and sought to attract with generous offers millions of refugees back to Afghanistan. Officially, some 100,000 refugees have returned home since January. That, during the same period, 8,000 refugees a month have sought safety in Pakistan and Iran is firmly rejected here. "Those are certainly nomads who for centuries have been wandering about the border areas," says the Vice President of the Committee for the return of refugees, Haisur Safer.

Since the announcement of the "Policy of national reconciliation," more than 10,000 rebels are officially said to have laid down their arms and several hundred political prisoners to have been released. But the resistance is unbroken. The supply of the deadly Stinger missiles from the United States, which despite Kabul's denials have brought down dozens of Soviet military planes, has not given the rebels encouragement.

"The guerrillas apparently regard the new policy as a sign of weakness," the Government has commented on the non-aligned diplomat. Rebel leaders in the Pakistan border city of Peshawar have so far ignored offers by Najib to join in a coalition Government.

In the process, Najib has offered the opposition at home and abroad practically all the most important points in a "Government of national reconciliation," including the Premier's post. He has not played an effective role in Jihad in the past nor could they do so in the future. He said that the present circumstances did not allow holding of elections for a Shura to form an interim government.

He asked all the Mujahideen parties to maintain unity and go ahead with the mission of Jihad. The Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadis chief was of the opinion that political alliances formed by other parties in the West, had not played an effective role in Jihad in the past nor could they do so in the future. He said that the present circumstances did not allow holding of elections for a Shura to form an interim government.

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Well-informed sources said an emissary of Najib's recently flew to Rome to negotiate with Zaher Shah. Moscow, too, appears to be willing to accept the ex-King as the head of an interim administration until the final withdrawal of Soviet forces and democratic elections.

Zaher Shah seems sure of popular support, at least among the refugees in Pakistan indicate. Shows of support for him are also reported from several southern provinces of Afghanistan, where his portrait has been put up on mosque walls. In order to enable the ex-King to assume the highest position may thereby permit the creation of a coalition, Kabul appears ready to surrender the long-insisted leadership role to the Communist PDPA.

Official Kabul "New Times" recently printed readers' letters counselling against enshrining Communism in the new constitution. Western diplomats see this as a sign that Kabul's Communists under pressure from Moscow may be willing in future to play a purely political role.

All the same, the return of Zaher Shah is not uncontroverted. Leaders of the four main rebel groups in Peshawar refuse to take part in a Government under the ex-King. Chief opponent is the fundamentalist Gulbuddin Hilmazyar. "When we and other people over-

threw him in 1973 nobody kept even a single tear. We did not make a coup then, only to ask him back now." —DPA 9/2

## Plans Rejected

SEPT. 15: Maulvi Sheikh Jamilur-Rehman, Chief of the Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadis Afghanistan, today ruled out the possibility of the formation of a proposed Shura of Afghan Mujahideen parties through ballots for the formation of an interim government in Afghanistan at this critical juncture.

Addressing a Press conference here today, Maulvi Jamilur-Rehman, who hails from the valley of Pacha in Nungar province of Afghanistan was critical of certain Afghan Mujahideen parties calling for the formation of an interim government based on the strength of the organisations through a Shura. "It is not possible. It is not workable. Even it can not continue for a short span of time," said Maulvi Jamil who qualified himself as a Maulvi after completing his studies in religious madrasahs of the Ahle Hadis school of thought in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

He asked all the Mujahideen parties to maintain unity and go ahead with the mission of Jihad. The Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadis chief was of the opinion that political alliances formed by other parties in the West, had not played an effective role in Jihad in the past nor could they do so in the future. He said that the present circumstances did not allow holding of elections for a Shura to form an interim government.

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Expressing his pessimism on the West, he said that the present circumstances did not allow holding of elections for a Shura to form an interim government.

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Soviet and Afghan army positions, barricades, roadblocks, and gun emplacements. The focal point of the Kabul defensive ring appears to be the perimeter road, which Soviet forces have surrounded with convoys and equipment around their bases without going through the port of entry. Soviet heavy artillery positions and forward bases as the large Khana Khana base are situated at strategic points along the road.

Kabul also has several barricaded inner forts inside the ring. The ring, which is 10 km long, has four quarters composed in Durushan, the airport, the Soviet housing area at Microron and the Arg Palace. The Soviets must also be building an outer line away from Kabul, near the large fortified camp of the eighth Soviet infantry division, near Kargha lake. Three lines of defences have been built to protect the base from resistance forces who unblock the hills around Paghman, which lies about 15 kilometres west north-west.

Elite (and presumably loyal) Khad units man the outer line of listening posts and forward observer posts. Major Soviet infantry and militia forces hold the main line about a kilometre to the west of the city. These are a series of Soviet forces, mostly of the 15th Jaialab is even more heavily defended than Kabul in terms of armed defences. There are five distinct lines of posts and forts enclosing the city, and access to the innermost ring is restricted to Soviet forces. Afghan soldiers and militia man the four outer rings, which extend from at least five kilometres from the edge of the city outskirts.

The Soviets have also built strongly fortified positions around the city. Major Soviet positions, notably Bagram, Shindan and the new airfield in Khoghar in Takhar province, are under the control of the city outskirts.

For the last few months Soviet forces have been constructing a fortified line outside the Herat city, but constant Soviet activity has made the line too porous to be effective.

Some of the other major cities, Kandahar, are not surrounded by any offensive positions, as the city is in the hands of the Mujahideen. The city of Kandahar has been fortified (some would say besieged) in the regime centre area, while the Soviets have dug in at the airports outside of the city. Since last June, however, the Soviets have been using bulldozers to clear the 30-kilometres of rubble and debris from the airport and regime centre. All houses, trees and bushes within 100 metres of the airport have been flattened in both directions have been flattened by the bulldozers. The Soviets want a clear, unobstructed path between the city and the regime centre.

Some Soviet combat engineers even destroyed the famous Ghat Ghat area, which is said to be a place where some Soviet tanks could move more easily into the city.

According to reports from Kandahar, the city is "largely in ruins" and the population has been reduced to only about 20 per cent of its former population of 175,000 people. —PPI 9/16

## Bombs in Kabul

PARIS, Sept. 16: A spate of bomb blasts in Kabul has killed at least six people and caused extensive damage to the city, according to the Western diplomats in the region.

The blasts, which were accompanied by intensified fighting in northern Afghanistan and an opening of a new front by the Soviet forces against the Logar province, inflicted heavy casualties, they said. "The city is 'abruptly devastated' in Kabul and troops were put on alert as at least six bombs were reported in the city between Sept.

7 and nine diplomats said, quoting reliable sources.

One of the bombs exploded Wednesday last in the Ministry of State Security, which houses the headquarters of the Afghan intelligence service the Kizad.

The blast caused extensive damage and an unknown number of casualties.

At least six people were killed and 30 injured on Sept. 7 when two bombs exploded in the Shahr-e Nau fruit market, which is popular with diplomats and Soviet officials.

The blasts damaged a number of shops and buildings over a wide area.

The following morning when security forces were still dealing under a car.

Fire tenders were seen racing towards Shahr-e Nau again on Wednesday.

Kabul residents also heard machinegun and rocket-launcher fire and another explosion in the vicinity of airport the next day.

Troops have devastated areas along the main road connecting the north-eastern provinces of Kunduz, Badakhshan and Takhar and the diplomats said, clearing houses and vegetation along the route.

Soviet armour and artillery were continuing a "destructive Sweep" through the area to discover to the Mujahideen guerrillas, they added.

Soviet and Afghan troops were also battling the guerrillas in Baghlan, where the resistance overran eight military posts in late August, the diplomats said, quoting Afghan sources.

AAP from London adds: The Afghan freedom fighters conducted an attack in Kandahar city in the broad daylight and killed two Soviet army engineers and 15 puppet troops while they destroyed two cranes.

The Afghan Agency Press learnt here today that on Sept. 3, a force of the Mujahideen launched an attack on the engineers engaged in building the roads leading towards Kandahar cantonment. Two crane machines were destroyed. After the attack the construction of roads was stopped. It was learnt that the Soviet are constructing roads inside the city after demolition of the houses for the movements of tanks and heavy vehicles.

9/17

## Hikmatyar Hurt in Blast

From Our Peshawar Bureau

SEPTEMBER 16: Prominent Afghan Mujahideen leader Engineer Gulbabin Hikmatyar narrowly escaped life attempt when a remote-controlled car bomb exploded this morning in Peshawar, killing seven people and injuring thirty-eight others.

Mr Hikmatyar, who is chief of the Hizbe Islami, Afghanistan, received slight cuts and bruises on his left hand and right shoulder. The terrorists operated the remote device planted in a Datsun pickup parked along roadside as Mr Hikmatyar passed through Kababayan Bazaar on Wazir Road, an outskirts of Cantonment, the Hizbe Islami said.

Mr Hikmatyar was on board a land cruiser which was bodyguarded by another land cruiser trailing behind.

The device went off at 8.15 a.m. as the bodyguard vehicle was close to the remote controlled pickup. The terrorists mistook him as the vehicle of Mr Hikmatyar. The vehicle was badly damaged while four bodyguards and a driver sustained injuries. The party said.

The Hizb chief was on way to Wazir where he was to attend his

party meeting which started on Sept. 5. It has been routine travel from Peshawar since then.

Mr Qareebur Rehman, "Director General Press and Information of the Peshawar" is visiting for a third life attempt on Hikmatyar in Pakistan. He blamed Russian-trained KHAAD agents for the explosion.

"The first attempt was made in 1984 in Faghabad in the heart of Peshawar city which has two bodyguards were killed in a car bomb. The second attempt was foiled in 1986 in the University Town, Peshawar."

Mr Hikmatyar said, "Russians should face him in the battlefield in Afghanistan instead of killing innocent, unarmed civilians in houses, streets and hazars in Pakistan."

The blast was so powerful that it damaged nearby shops and buildings and a parked vehicle. A Sun gear pump was burst and caught fire while there was power breakdown. However, fire was extinguished and electricity restored after heroic efforts.

Police said it recovered the number plate, engine and chassis number of the car. The number plate was DNA 5483.

The injured were rushed to the Liaison Hospital where they were admitted and the rest were discharged after first medical aid. Six injured persons are stated to be in critical conditions.

A Press statement of Mr Hikmatyar, issued by the Mujahid Press agency, said, "we will never be intimidated by such acts of terrorism." We are not afraid of death as each Muslim seeks his prosperity and life in a death of martyrdom." He added that his father and two brothers had spilled their blood with 12 million of his countrymen. He for would be pleased to shed his blood for the sake of lofty ideals of Islam and the liberation of country. Mr Hikmatyar said the Soviets were frustrated over the resistance inside the country, that was why they were retreating and cowardly. He prayed that may the departed souls rest in eternal peace and the injured recover speedily. The destiny of the Afghans and Pakistani brothers was the same, why that both the nations were victims of the aggressors, he added.

9/17

## Inciting trouble for Italians

Moscow: Soviet police briefly detained four young Italians in Moscow on Friday for distributing leaflets inciting young Russians not to fight in Afghanistan, an Italian embassy official said yesterday.

He said the youths, members of Italy's Radical Party, were taken to their hotel where police confiscated the leaflets. They were scheduled to leave Moscow yesterday with their tour group on a regular charter flight.

"They were not arrested," the embassy said in a "Tass" dispatch, as they are just leaving for Italy as planned."

The official said the leaflets, printed in Russian, urged Soviet youths not to join the army and to desert to Afghanistan, declaring that the Kremlin's glasnost (openness) policy allowed them to do so.

He said the Italian embassy was called by police, who said two young Italian couples were stopped after members of the public had complained about their activities.

Sunday Morning Post 9/6

## From THE ECONOMIST, 10/10

About 250 people have been killed and 1,000 injured this year in bomb explosions in Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi and other cities. The bombings are blamed by Pakistan's leaders on the Russians' friends in Kabul, who are angry at the support Pakistan gives to the resistance in Afghanistan. Mr Zia allows his country to be used as a conduit for the arms sent to the rebels by America and other countries, and some of the 3m Afghan refugees settled in northern Pakistan are trained in guerrilla warfare there. Bomb-shaken Pakistanis in the North West Frontier Province, which houses most of the refugees, have been urging the government to open negotiations with the Kabul regime on repatriating the refugees. Miss Bhutto's party has been in the forefront of this demand.

The link between the war in Afghanistan and the communal violence in Karachi, which has caused another 500 deaths in the past year, is less obvious. The main issues behind the fighting have nothing to do with Afghanistan, though some Afghan refugees have seeped into the city. The weapons used in it are very much Afghan-related. At least a quarter of the weapons meant for the Afghan rebels are thought to stay in Pakistan, either stolen from or sold by the rebels. It is not hard to rent a machinegun with two ammunition clips for the day for \$60 or so, and get half your money back if you return one clip unused.

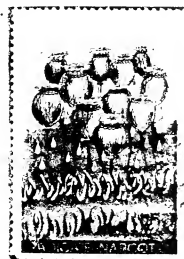
Pathan tribesmen, who have turned Pakistan into Asia's largest producer and trafficker of illicit drugs, buy guns with the proceeds. Part of the reason for the heavy death toll in Karachi's communal warfare, in which Pathans and Punjabis

are pitted against Mohajirs (Muslims who originally came from India), is the number and firepower of the weapons in use. Though curfews remain in force in some slum areas, the police have often held back from intervening between the combatants.

President Zia is a subtle politician who knows which levers to pull. He has the gratitude of the Americans and many other people for his help in Afghanistan; for the time being that outweighs American displeasure over Pakistan's apparent attempt to develop a nuclear bomb. He has fastened on to "Islamisation"—due deference to Muslim doctrine—as the way to keep Muslim fundamentalists happy. He has punctured one attempt by Miss Bhutto to rouse the country against him. He has stayed fairly comfortably in power far longer than people kept predicting. Can he now open the 1990 election to the parties, and will his fellow-generals let him if he tries?

Restoring undisguised army rule would not look good. Nor would it be popular at home. But unless the violence can be brought under control, or the war in Afghanistan to a swift end, many Pakistanis think another bout of military rule is inevitable.

A Pakistani effort to "stamp out narcotics!"



## AFGHANISTAN

Nase Afghani Mujahidees touring the United States to bolster support for their cause said Monday the 8-year-old war in their homeland is worsening.

"We would like (Americans) to know that the situation is there, it has increased, the suffering is more," said Hamed Karzai, chairman of the information department for the Afghan National Liberation Front.

"We would like to tell them that we all as humans being share a common objective — liberty and freedom for all to practice their religion. To have a homeland, and to be free and to live in peace and prosperity, which we have been denied," Karzai said.

The Afghans, all of whom said they have fought in hand-to-hand combat, said the support of the American public is necessary to end the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, which began in 1979.

"If the issue of Afghanistan is considered as just an issue that involves the government and the congress, we will never defeat them (the Soviets)," said Sardar Roshan of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan.

"We have to have the support of the public on our side so the enemy may not be tempted to manipulate the situation and stay (in Afghanistan) for a longer time," Roshan said.

The Afghans said they believe by informing the public about the war, the U.S. government will exert more pressure on the Soviet Union to pull its troops out of Afghanistan.

"We see a vacancy of information about Afghanistan," Roshan said. "So in order to prevent the influence of disinformation, we want... to keep the situation in Afghanistan in people's mind fresh so that they know what the realities are."

Kayhan Int'l 9/12

## Power line may foster partition of Afghanistan

Afghanistan's Ministry of Power has awarded a contract for part of a transmission line project that observers in Pakistan say may lead the Soviet Union's efforts to partition its neighbor to the south. The Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979.

The \$102-million contract with Bulgaria's Electro Co. calls for it to supply cables for a 435-mile transmission line to supply electricity from the Soviet Union's central Asian republics to eight provinces along the border in northern Afghanistan.

There have been reports that the Soviet Union is planning a systematic annexation of Afghanistan's border provinces. Anti-Soviet guerrillas operating from that border area have recently carried out some raids inside the Soviet Union.

The contract to furnish cable is the first involvement by an Eastern Bloc country in the transmission project.

ENR/August 27 1987

# KABUL CAMPAIGNS IN WORLD CAPITALS

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — The Afghan regime has started a full-scale diplomatic campaign in recent months to try to gain international acceptance, Reagan Administration and Pakistani officials say.

The officials interpret the campaign as part of a process of finding a political solution in Afghanistan that would insure the domination of the present Soviet-backed regime after the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

"The Soviets love to tantalize you with the idea that this is a new regime, but so far they haven't given anything away," a State Department official said.

When Secretary of State George P. Shultz receives the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, in Washington next week, he intends to reiterate that the United States has seen no sign of Soviet military or political progress in withdrawing from Afghanistan, the official added.

## Good-Will Emissaries Sent

In the last few months, the Kabul regime has sent good-will emissaries to 16 third world and Islamic capitals, extending invitations to foreign officials along the way, lobbying for diplomatic recognition and favorable economic agreements and capitalizing on strains in American-Pakistani relations over Pakistan's nuclear program.

It has persuaded Zimbabwe, which now heads the 101-member group of nations professing nonalignment, and Cyprus, another key member, to upgrade their diplomatic representation.

Even though it faces certain rejection, the Kabul regime has asked for admission to the new South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation and has indicated a desire to take up Afghanistan's seat in the Islamic Conference, which it vacated shortly after the 1979 Soviet intervention.

Its emissaries have argued the case that the Kabul Government of "national reconciliation," unveiled in January, is working well, with claims of rebels returning from abroad and villages gradually coming under multi-party rule.

The envoys have also reiterated statements by Najib, the Afghan leader, that more than 20 ministries could go to nonmembers of the ruling Communist Party, called the People's Democratic Party, as part of a coalition government, although they do not mention that crucial portfolios such as Defense and Interior would remain in the party's hands.

Because of the intensity and partial success of the campaign, which is largely directed in Moscow, there is concern in Pakistan and some Western capitals that opposition to the Kabul regime could erode.

"The Soviets have only been able to nibble around the edges," a State Department official said, "but every time there is a response to Soviet pressure, we find it troubling."

Pakistani officials fear that the annual resolution at the United Nations General Assembly this fall condemning the Soviet Union for its continuing occupation of Afghanistan must lose some support.

Kabul's diplomatic initiative is regarded as part of a larger Soviet strategy of activism throughout the Middle East and Southwest Asia in a search for new foreign policy opportunities. While giving the impression of flexibility, however, the Russians have shown no indication that their more traditional intent of maintaining a stronghold over Afghanistan has diminished, according to American policy analysts.

• • •

Pakistan has helped to blunt the Afghan initiative by starting a diplomatic campaign of its own. When Pakistan learned of an Afghan overture to Turkey, a Pakistani ally, it sent messages directly and through third countries to press Turkey to keep its distance. When Bangladesh announced a few weeks ago that it had extended an invitation to an Afghan delegation, Pakistan moved to stop the visit.

More troubling for Pakistan are the overtures to Kuwait, whose officials have recently praised Kabul's moves towards reconciliation, and Austria, which has neither rejected nor responded to Kabul. American officials are also concerned about any warming of relations between Afghanistan and Kuwait, fearing that it is part of the Soviet strategy to increase its presence in the Persian Gulf.

And State Department and Pakistani officials characterized as worrisome the visit of India's Foreign Minister, Narayan Tiwari, to Kabul in May. He endorsed Afghanistan's reconciliation policy.

Not all of Kabul's overtures have borne fruit, however. A new round of Geneva negotiations on the Afghan conflict in Geneva that Afghanistan had urgently sought ended Thursday without producing the major concessions from Kabul that had been expected.

And despite an announcement in February that Afghanistan would let the International Committee of the Red Cross resume visits to prisoners of war and aid the wounded after a four-year ban, relief officials say they have not been allowed to visit prisoners.

NYT 9/13

## Reduce Isolation

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Sept. 28 — Two of the world's most isolated Communist regimes, Afghanistan and Albania, made it clear to the General Assembly today that for different reasons they are seeking to reduce their isolation.

Speaking for the Soviet-backed Afghan Government, Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil appealed to Pakistan and the guerrilla leaders it harbors to open negotiations on a government of national reconciliation to end a war that has "ruined our national economy."

Three-quarters of Afghanistan's economic progress in the last 50 years has been undone by the fighting, the Foreign Minister said, listing 2,000 schools, 350 bridges and 358 factories as among Afghan development projects that have been destroyed.

The Afghan Foreign Minister spoke of "radical progress" in the Geneva negotiations between his Government and Pakistan, which represents the guerrillas on fixing a timetable on the withdrawal of the Russians. He stressed the gap on the timetable has narrowed "to only eight months."

He also appeared to promise further Soviet concessions in these talks, saying that the next round of negotiations, as yet unscheduled, "will prove conclusive" if Pakistan, as negotiator for the guerrillas, shows "political realism."

## Kabul Ban Is Criticized

But as yet no guerrilla leader of importance has agreed even to discuss the Kabul Government's reconciliation plan, which would create a coalition government effectively controlled by the Afghan Communist Party even after a Soviet withdrawal.

Last week Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo of Pakistan effectively called on Kabul to scrap its own proposals and work out alternatives with the guerrilla leaders.

NYT 9/29

## LOOKING GLASS

Cont. from p. 10

crossing at Teri Mangel, their jeep was stopped by a police check. The French journalist didn't have time to do her *chadri* and when they searched each pack, they found a 16mm camera and 6,000 feet of film.

"Are the mujahideen running a tourist service now?" the Pakistani Police captain asked with a sneer. About 500 rupees were pressed into his palm without a word and the entourage was off again.

Another stop was made at the group's arsenal and supply base a few miles from the border, where the ammunition was loaded.

Their target: the Soviet garrison at Sorobi, guarding the road between Kabul and Jalalabad, and one of the most prized Soviet strongholds in Afghanistan.

On July 6, after several failed attempts, the guerrillas massed 5,000 fighters for an attack on the Sorobi garrison. According to them, it was a highly successful operation, destroying 50 tanks, 83 trucks, four bridges and killing 800 Soviet soldiers.

Unfortunately, there was no one there to film it for the 11 o'clock news.

SCMP 9/6

# Stalemate In Kabul

From the daily "La Repubblica" of Rome.

Reprinted in the  
WORLD PRESS REVIEW  
September, 1987

The buzzword is 'national reconciliation'

By GUIDO BARENDSON

**T**he Red Army's "flying tanks" fill the sky with balls of fire. Below us, 24 gunners fire a storm of low-altitude tracers between Kabul and the mountains surrounding the city. The *mujahedeen* [guerrillas] can take down an enemy aircraft whenever they wish, thanks to the Stinger missiles sent by the Reagan administration.

Aboard our jet, fear has suddenly stripped everyone of the desire to speak. We descend slowly. The pilot lands on a runway filled with warplanes and surrounded by tanks and other armored vehicles.

"Welcome to Kabul," say the government functionaries who greet us and take our passports, which we will not get back until we leave. "There's no need for passports here — this is a peaceful city," they tell Westerners unaccustomed to the practice. After all, it is the job of our guides — who quickly become gentle guardian angels — to show that everything is just fine, that the regime held in place by the Soviets is not only master of the situation but also is winning the people's support — barely slowed by the maneuvers of American and Pakistani "warmongers."

It does not take much to understand that things are not exactly like that. The military array is overwhelming. The streets are filled with soldiers. Foreigners who leave the central city face arrest. Public buildings are heavily guarded; even official cars are checked at the gates.

From time to time, the wind carries the sound of heavy artillery, heir to the British colonizers' noonday cannons. And in the hilltop fortresses once occupied by Her Majesty's soldiers, there now sit troops and advisers sent by the Kremlin. The masters change, but not the habits.

In the first years of the revolution, and especially after the Soviet invasion in December, 1979, the new regime tried to create a political and social structure modeled on the U.S.S.R. and its satellites — a "democratic republic." That project has largely failed, having overcome neither the passive resistance of the populace nor the armed resistance of opposition groups based in Pakistan and financed and armed by the U.S. Mikhail Gorbachev is aware of the trap into which Leonid Brezhnev led the Soviet Union, but he cannot find a way out.

Paradoxical though it may be, the Reagan administration is in no hurry for the Soviets to withdraw. Washington is intent on maintaining the status quo until it finds a favorable substitute. Since a military solution became impossible, the Kremlin has had no choice but to pressure its faithful Najib, currently Afghanistan's leader, to improve the internal situation, hoping, meanwhile, that the UN-sponsored Geneva negotiations produce some results.

Peace will not come tomorrow. For the immediate future there is only stalemate, with a guerrilla movement pressuring a government that institutes reforms in which the people do not believe. Western governments insist that only the Red Army's withdrawal can return Afghanistan to normality. But the Soviets are in no condition to withdraw. Their reputation is at stake.

They cannot tolerate a hostile, perhaps Islamic, nation along their southern border, nor can they abandon their local allies to the maelstrom of other Afghan political forces — whether or not those forces are sponsored from abroad. If the occupation troops were recalled today, the Najib regime would rapidly come apart and Kabul, the capital city once called "the luminous," would become a theater of the war between the communists and the resistance. Realistic talk of ending Moscow's "international aid" will come only when Afghanistan's ruling People's Democratic Party can survive on its own.

"We are not inclined to set up an improvised government just to get out, as the Americans did in Saigon," says a Soviet diplomat. He insists that a second Islamic republic on the Soviet border must be avoided, but this does not seem to be the real danger. The battle is not so much between Islam and atheistic materialism as between the clan spirit and the foreign invader.

Faith in Allah has always been basic to Afghans, but the Red Army's occupation and Kabul's subservience to Moscow have catalyzed discontent and rage, pushing even moderate Moslems into fundamentalism. Proof that the detonator is the foreign presence lies in the emergence of a patriotic and religious reawakening strong enough to overshadow the ferocious differences in this absolutely pre-industrial, tribal society.

If the idea of the revolution was to build a socialist state, the planners — Russians or Afghans — forgot to take into account a closed society with the pride of mountain people and the entrepreneurial spirit of merchants. Gorbachev takes it into account. He understands that the Brezhnev invasion could have been something less, aimed only at the development of closer political and economic ties. Now Najib is doing an about-face, admitting past errors. Naturally, the guilty one was his predecessor, President Babrak Karmal, the militant communist who is now a guest in the Soviet Union — reportedly for medical treatment.

The buzzword in Kabul, repeated obsessively, is "national reconciliation." This is how it is articulated: The people are rediscovering religious fervor? Well, the regime is constructing new mosques — and look, Najib goes to his prayers every day. The unilateral cease-fire proclaimed in January has not made the *mujahedeen* put down their arms? No matter; the truce will be renewed for another six months.

The People's Democratic Party's monopoly of power is not gaining sympathizers? Fine. Soon a new constitution will provide for other parties — who, let it be understood, must cooperate with the People's Democratic Party in a government of national unity. The new name given the country sounds too much like those of Eastern European nations? No problem. Just take away the adjective "democratic," and the country will be called simply the Republic of Afghanistan.

That is how the government moves. It resorts to the systems of the much-hated British colonizers and the monarchy: "If you can't beat them, buy them." Some local militias, for example, have decided to stop fighting in return for the pledge that they not only will not be disarmed, but they also will receive money and new equipment from Kabul.

However, the central authorities' efforts have not produced great results. Most of the clergy has not supported the government's initiatives, nor has the populace. The government remains in place thanks to a foreign expeditionary force of almost 120,000, and thanks to several thousand ci-

villians who hold jobs in the bureaucracy.

The prisons hold some 15,000. And nobody is forgetting what happened to those who believed in the reconciliation policy the day after the truce was announced in January, when the boys hiding in the basements of their family homes in order to escape conscription came out into the light — and were enlisted by force and shipped to the front within hours. Nor is anyone forgetting the hundreds of thousands of dead in this war.

As long as there is no trust between the two sides, there will be war. And Najib will remain, as he is today, a puppet. The turn toward peace will not come from him. The war's end will come only out of an understanding between Moscow and Washington.

The Reagan administration's insistence on a timetable for troop withdrawal, and the Soviet objections to this demand, will probably lead the Americans and their allies to recognize that Afghanistan lies within the Kremlin's sphere of influence. Such recognition would be a minimal requirement for Gorbachev, considering the invasion's enormous political cost and the former good relations between the Afghan mountain folk and their communist neighbors.

The Afghan occupation has proved to be as dangerous a political trap for Moscow as Vietnam was for Washington. However, the Soviet government has brought neither the capital nor the prosperity — ephemeral and imperialistic though it was — that coursed through Saigon up until the Viet Cong victory. Not even the subsidy with which Moscow covers 40 percent of Afghanistan's national budget is enough to remedy the country's overall poverty.

Kabul remains an extremely poor Third World city, lacking infrastructure and industries, whose misery of underdevelopment has not been alleviated by the unsuccessful efforts of the Najib government to introduce elements of socialism. There is, in fact, little equality in Kabul. Russian soldiers cannot enter most of the city's restaurants, because they do not have enough money and because they fear they may be harmed.

Nor can they enter the old section of Kabul's legendary bazaar, a landmark that seems stuck in the Middle Ages. Here, in the heart of the city, women — almost all with faces hidden by the *chador* — gather around the area's entrance. Inside, the merchants unroll their paltry goods. Old shops display posters of Indian film stars — plus a few of Rambo. Children offer for sale plastic bags for shopping. The idlers who insult one another while playing cards barely manage to avoid being buried under arriving carts filled with fresh fruit — whose aroma may mask, for a few seconds, the stench of sweat, impoverished humanity.

Most of the merchants and card players ignore the curious Westerner; a few study him suspiciously. "I'd like to buy that old valise," I tell a leather dealer. He does not answer. "How much?" I insist. He remains silent.

Then he mutters dryly, "Where are you from?"

"Rome, from Italy," I answer.

His tone changes immediately. "Why didn't you tell me right off?" he says. "I thought you were Russian. Forgive me; enter, enter. The fact is that we do not deal with them."

In the bazaar, as in markets the world over, money has no color. But it is the value they give it, the use they make of it, that distinguishes this ancient race of merchants — planted for centuries at the crossroads of the great caravans of Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and the Mediterranean to the west;

and the Ganges plains and the great cities of the former British regime to the east. Marco Polo passed through their streets, and the English were stopped at the Khyber Pass.

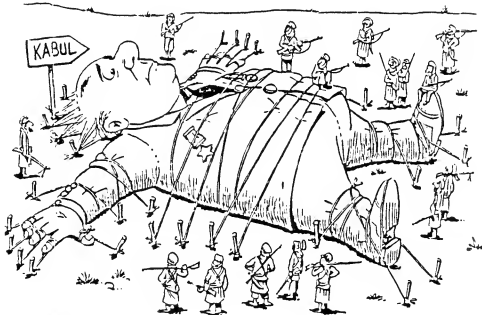
Certainly, then, more than seven years of Soviet occupation are not enough to frighten these people or change their customs. In a courtyard where only enormous wooden and rusted iron beams keep the walls from collapsing, money-changers still ply their trade. They deal disinterestedly in any currency. The dollar changes at three times the official rate. The ruble, worth \$1.40 in Moscow, here is worth only a third as much. The "fixing" comes from the radio — the BBC.

The new part of the bazaar is another world, one that is hard to reconcile with one of the poorest nations on Earth, whose territory is largely controlled by anti-government guerrillas. Here the reassuring sphere of Western goods has not been touched by the war. There are Japanese stereo systems, Swiss watches, German and Dutch beers, Scotch whiskey, American blue jeans, and more. The Red Army soldiers know the area well. They gaze at the great supplies of goods that are so desired and so unavailable to them at home. They eagerly purchase food, clothing, and kitchen appliances.

The Russian soldiers are perfect foreigners. Ignored by the people, they greet one another in their beige colonial uniforms. Most of them are from the northern Soviet states. The Kremlin's generals discovered early on that the first troop contingents from the south, many of them Moslems aware of ethnic and cultural similarities to the Afghans, were not trustworthy.

In their isolation, the Soviet soldiers feel particularly threatened by Kabul's transformation over the past few years into an open city with a huge population. The danger comes from the guerrillas' ability to strike anywhere and count on the support of the people. The capital city, with a population of less than half a million when the war began, has now collected nearly half of the entire Afghan population — 3.5 million out of 8 million, according to the United Nations. The influx is made up largely of refugees from the countryside.

The guerrillas that the Najib regime calls "bandits" have cut back on the rocket attacks that endanger civilians and concentrate instead on individual attacks: a bomb in an office frequented by collaborators; an official stabbed; a truck hijacked for its load of weapons. They seek to avoid the unpopularity that indiscriminate terrorism provokes. Proof of their success lies in the fact that foreign diplomats feel less endangered by the guerrillas' tactics than by the "protection" of Najib's secret services.



DATELINE: NORTH & SOUTH WAZIRISTAN, August 1987. A report from Nancy Hatch Dupree.

[A map of the Tribal Areas  
appears on page 26.]

### Background

Created in 1895-96, North & South Waziristan are two of Pakistan's seven Federally Administered Tribal Agencies (FATAs) which were created primarily by the British at the turn of the last century. The Government of Pakistan (GOP) accommodates the fiercely independent-minded tribes by posting Political Agents in each FATA to represent the federal government and arbitrate tribal feuds if need be, but tribal codes replace regular Pakistani criminal, civil and revenue laws in the agencies.

All but one of the FATAs (Orakzai) have common borders with Afghanistan along the disputed Durand Line of 1893 which divides ethnolinguistically related Pushtun and Baluch groups. During the early part of their exodus from the DRA, Afghan refugees largely settled in the FATAs. By September 1979, for instance, the Kurram and North Waziristan agencies alone were hosting 61% of the refugees in the NWFP, or 46% of the 400,000 refugees then in Pakistan.

According to both Islamic injunction and the Pushtun Code of Honor (Pushtunwali) it was incumbent on Pakistani tribal leaders in the FATAs to provide succor for their distressed cultural kinsmen. Many spontaneous gestures of welcome, including food and shelter are recorded. Many tribesmen, from South Waziristan particularly, have consistently fought alongside the mujahideen in Afghanistan. The GOP also offered lodging to the early arrivals in a variety of buildings - rest houses, schools, hospitals, storage facilities - in addition to some food (wheat, sugar, tea), tents, clothing, bedding and, in a few instances, monthly cash subsidies.

As the refugee flow accelerated, the burden began to weigh too heavily on both the tribesmen and the GOP. Pakistan appealed to the UNHCR in April 1979 and immediately concerted efforts were made to move the refugees away from the border areas so as to discourage incursions and bombings of Pakistan's territory by the Kabul Government.

As of July 1987 there were 95 RTVs with a total registered population of 861,286 in the seven FATAs, compared to 153 RTVs with a registered population of 1,284,647 in the settled districts of the NWFP. Each summer, however, a great migration takes place. Around the end of March/early April, families move to the hills to escape the appalling heat which can rise to over 120° F. The return takes place in September/October. The refugee authorities tried to discourage this migration, but the refugees flatly refused, saying they would rather give up their rations than remain. The Commissioner for Afghan Refugees (CAR) in Peshawar, therefore, worked out a system whereby one representative per 20 families may collect rations once a month. The refugees hire their own transport for the move, which the CAR in Dera Ismail Khan estimates to cost around Rs. 500 (ca. \$29) per family per move. This represents a considerable financial burden but the Afghans, unaccustomed to such heat, suffer immeasurably when they remain on the plains for the summer.

We were interested in observing this phenomenon but permission to travel in the FATAs has always been restricted. Even in the old days British officers posted there were not allowed to bring their families. The tribes were considered much too recalcitrant. The presence of the refugees provides an even greater potential for unrest, especially with the intensification of terrorist activities since 1985, reportedly masterminded by KHAD agents. During our stay from June through August there were 77 incidents in which 116 people were killed and 454 wounded. Kabul's strategy has also included numerous attempts to manipulate the tribes in the FATAs by offering incentives - such as guns and money - in return for vocal demands that the GOP clear the refugees out of the areas. This summer serious fights between Shia and Sunni tribes in the Kurram Agency broke out. Roads were closed for long periods. It did not appear to be an auspicious time to request permission to visit Miranshah in North Waziristan and Wana in South Waziristan. But we did and permission was graciously granted.

From the editor:

The UN General Assembly's annual debate on Afghanistan is scheduled for 11/10. The Islamic Unity in Peshawar plans to send a delegation, headed by Yunis Khalis, to the US to lobby for their cause. The delegation should arrive 11/9.

Thanks to everyone who sent information & articles. Please keep it up. The deadline for the next issue is 12/15.

Since no one complained about the small print, this issue is full of it, much of which spells out incredible information. A magnifying glass does help.

## EVENTS

The AFGHANISTAN RELIEF COMMITTEE's International Conference on Afghanistan Humanitarian Support Organizations will take place in New York City on 11/7-8. Speakers will include Congressman Charles Wilson, Louis & Nancy Dupree, Alain Boinet, Philip Truze, Thomas Gouttierre, Ambassador Herbert Okun & S. Ali Hadi Raza Ali (Consul General of Pakistan). The \$60 registration fee covers lunches on Saturday & Sunday & a continental breakfast on Sunday. For further information call the Committee at (212) 355-2931.

A symposium on NAT'L RECONCILIATION: PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS will be held at Columbia Univ. on 11/10. Participants will include Yunis Khalis, Pir Gailani, S. Mojadeddi & deputies of the other Islamic Alliance groups. For further information call (212) 724-6735.

The ARTHUR PAUL AFGHANISTAN COLLECTION was dedicated on 10/2 at the Univ. of Nebraska at Omaha. Speakers at the dedication were Robert Runyon, Director of the Library, John Shroder, Richard Newell, John E. James, Shaista Wahab & Thomas Gouttierre.

The SOUTH ASIA CONFERENCE at the Univ. of Wisconsin at Madison will have a panel on Afghanistan on 11/7:

### THE AFGHAN PEACE PROCESS

CHAIR: Richard Jewell, Univ of Northern Iowa  
"Obstacles in the Afghan Peace Process"  
Robert G. Newman, Center for Strategic Studies.  
"Peace Process as Viewed from Tehran" Wash DC  
David Champagne, Sanford NC  
"Peace Process as Viewed by Pakistan"  
Ralph Magnus, Naval Post Grad School, Monterey, CA  
"The Peace Process from the View of the Minorities"  
Grant Farris, Portland State Univ  
"Peace Process Viewed by the Resistance"  
Thomas Gouttierre, Univ of Nebraska-Omaha  
DISCUSSANTS: John Shroder, Univ of Nebraska-Omaha, &  
Kerry M. Connor, Univ of Nebraska-Omaha

The CANADIAN ASIAN STUDIES ASSN. has issued a call for panel and/or paper proposals for its annual meeting (at an unspecified time & place) by 11/15. The South Asia Committee Program Chairman is Prof. Amrit Lall, Dept. of Geography, Univ. of Windsor, Windsor, Ont. N9B 3P4. (519) 253-4232, ext. 2180. Student papers, not exceeding 30 pp., must be submitted by 1/15/88.

The 40th ANNUAL SOUTH ASIA REGIONAL STUDIES SEMINAR at the University of Pennsylvania is focusing this year on "Knowledge, Performance & Transmission in Folk Traditions." Margaret Mills spoke on "gender & Performance Style in Afghanistan" on 9/30.

AFGHAN TRADITIONAL MUSIC was part of a program sponsored by the American Folklife Center in Washington, D.C. on 6/19.

Cont. on p. 36.

## OPINION

THE PIONEER PRESS  
DISPATCH

8/28



## Miranshah, North Waziristan Agency

At the Bannu District (one of 12 Settled Districts in the NWFP) office of the CAR we were told that the 6 RTVs in the district (population 57,580; 8,062 families) were empty. These refugees had joined the summer migration to the western mountains of the NWA.\* An estimated 100,000 from Bannu & the Punjab settle in the vicinity of Mohammad Khel, Datta Khel, Razmak (alt. 7,000 ft) & Miranshah (alt. 2,982 ft.) where the Agency headquarters are located, some 2 hours away via a fairly good road.

At the border of Bannu District and NWA, we picked up a jeep-full of khassadars (the local tribal force; paid by the GOP), wearing sturdy bandoliers full of cartridges for their rifles. In the large half-way bazaar-town of Mir Ali everyone carried a gun. This was equally true in the teeming bazaar of Miranshah, but here almost everyone was an Afghan.

Afghans operate a good portion of the hotels, restaurants, food & textile shops in Miranshah, and control much of the long distance transport services. They have enhanced the local economy considerably.

The barren hills were thickly dotted with refugee tents. Furthermore, every few minutes a pick-up truck full of mujahideen roared off toward the 100-mile border with Afghanistan's Paktya Province, scarcely 20 miles away. The wounded are brought out the same way and taken to a 1st-aid post jointly run by the Int'l Committee of the Red Cross & the Pakistan Red Crescent Society (ICRC/PRCS) where they receive emergency treatment before being transported by ambulance to the ICRC hospital for Afghan wounded in Peshawar. Nine ICRC/PRCS 1st-aid posts have been installed at key points along the border, from Baluchistan to the northern areas of the NWFP. On the day of our visit (8/17) they had received no patients for 4 days.

In addition to the visiting refugees living in tents, there are 24 registered RTVs in North Waziristan with a total population of 185,703; 26,446 families, 48% of whom live within a 10 km. radius of Miranshah. The refugee to local population rate is 1:2. Most of the refugees are Pashtu speakers from Paktya, Logar & Wardak provinces in Afghanistan, but since 1985 there has been an increase in non-Pushtun Tajik, Turkomen & Uzbek from the northern provinces of Kunduz, Baghlan & Balkh.

The RTVs are relatively well serviced by 14 Basic Health Units (BHUs) staffed by 12 Medical Officers, 10 Lady Health Visitors (LHVs), 13 vaccinators, 13 malaria/sanitarian superintendents & 13 dai (traditional birth attendants). The 58 primary schools have an enrollment of 6,736 boys & are staffed by 133 Afghan & 70 Pakistani teachers. During the summer migration, 3 BHU teams from Bannu supplement the medical staff.

Two UNHCR Pakistani lady staff members flew into Miranshah on the UNHCR helicopter to conduct another phase of an on-going nutritional survey of children under 5, who make up 22.5% of the total refugee population. They reported that the overall nutritional status continues to be positive. However, specialized treatment for children with severe malnutrition, an estimated 5%, is not available nor as well developed in these remote areas. Certainly a good number of children are not reached, and other surveys indicate that at least another 8% of the children under 5 suffer from moderate malnutrition. Complacent statements one hears in Peshawar & Islamabad regarding the nutritional status of the refugees certainly are not warranted according to our observations.

In addition, the food basket is getting lighter & lighter. According to one source, when current stocks of tea & sugar are exhausted these items will be discontinued. Islamabad officials reported that problems with arrears in edible oil had been solved. This was contradicted by local officials & the refugees. A great argument rages over dried skim milk (DSM) because one nutritionist from Geneva claims that

\* North Waziristan Agency

when it is mixed with contaminated water, it causes more harm than good so it may also be discontinued. Wheat is the only food that can be provided fully & regularly because Pakistan distributes its own stocks if arrears in int'l supplies develop.

In Miranshah we also visited with some contractors for animal remounts. Animals of all sorts form the "backbone of the resistance." Most supplies for the jihad & for civilians remaining inside Afghanistan are carried on the backs of animals. It is expensive. The going rate was Rs. 700 (\$40) per maund (16 lbs.) from Miranshah to Pul-i-Khumri, north of the Salang Pass. The trails are arduous & particularly dangerous because the Soviets purposely bomb & strafe animal columns, knowing that they form the life-line of the resistance. Among the more innovative new assistance programs being designed are those focusing on the establishment of veterinary training courses for the mujahideen & holding-corral for animals, where they can rest & receive treatment after a tour at the front.

From Miranshah we travelled a short distance to the border at Ghulam Khan which, until recently, was a bustling bazaar where mujahideen grouped before entering Afghanistan. It is now a pile of rubble. A few, including a tailor, live there but no attempts to rebuild the town have been made since it would surely be bombed again. From January-August 1987 there were 247 air violations with 304 killed & 536 wounded; 113 ground violations with 28 killed & 57 wounded. To actually see the utter devastation is sobering. Near-by, hundreds of colorful pennants flutter over the graves of those killed when Ghulam Khan was flattened. Another reminder of the war was a chat with a pick-up truck full of DRA prisoners who had just been brought across the border.

#### Wana, South Waziristan Agency

Over the years we have visited numbers of the 10 RTVs (population 80,127; 11,703 families) located along the main roads leading to Dera Ismail Khan (DIK), the administrative & commercial center of the southernmost district of the NWFP. On this trip all were empty. At Tank, 60 kms. northwest of DIK, the early morning temperature stood at 110°F. Here we picked up a khassadar escort, an amiable fellow who recounted the history of the area with pride as we moved along. After Tank the road deteriorated rapidly; much of it is under construction. It was somewhat disconcerting, therefore, to watch his bobbing rifle pointed toward us in the back seat of a very small car. An hour later, at Jandola, we were joined by an escort of South Waziristan Scouts, complimented by a pick-up truck full of khassadars.

Each of the FATAs has its own contingent of paramilitary frontier scouts, consisting of local tribal troops commanded by Pakistani officers seconded from the regular Pakistani army. This again is a hold-over from British days. I had wondered if such stringent protective measures were really necessary in 1987 until I read in a DIK newspaper that a GOP doctor had been kidnapped just a few days earlier in an attempt by the tribes to force the GOP to meet local demands. Times have not changed all that much it would seem. And, when our car caught on a rock in a flooded river crossing, it was most convenient to have the khassadars clear the way.

As we approached Wana (alt. 6,000 ft; as is Kabul; 4½ hours from DIK), headquarters of the South Waziristan Scouts, the towering barren mountain ranges interspaced with isolated valleys became more & more reminiscent of Afghanistan. The higher we climbed the more refugee tents appeared on the slopes. The air was fresh; the nights almost chilly.

There are 6 registered RTVs in SWA, 5 west of Wana, 1 to the south. The registered Afghan population is 52,743; 8,886 families. Again the ratio of refugees to local population is 1:2, and Afghan commercial & transport activities have given a great boost to the local economy. However, remoteness, security problems & difficulties with accommodation have resulted in less than adequate assistance facilities. For instance, in 1986 there was 1 Medical Officer & 1 LHV manning 4 BHUs; 14 boys'

primary schools with an enrollment of 1,770. Four BHU teams from DIK supplement the medical teams during the summer migration when refugees from DIK & the Punjab at least double the refugee population.

The Wana plateau blends so well with the 45-mile border with Paktya Province that it is sometimes difficult to say whether one is in Pakistan or Afghanistan. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the long-term registered refugees are Pashto speakers from Paktya & Paktika Provinces although since 1985 Persian & Turkic speakers from north Afghanistan have increased. Today many new arrivals come to Wana: an estimated 23%, as compared with 55% who enter via Miranshah, according to 1986 records.

The plight of new arrivals is still an unsolved problem. In May 1987 the Chief Commissioner for Afghan Refugees in Islamabad estimated that there were 300,000 unregistered refugees in Pakistan, some of whom have been in the country for several years. At Wana we met numbers of families from northern Afghanistan who had arrived during the last 4 months although the officials reported no new arrivals for almost a year. Only among these groups did I see women in tattered clothing; children with dull, sunken eyes & pallid complexions.

Most families bring animals or other goods such as sewing machines which they sell to survive, but these goods are soon gone. Labor opportunities are good for the men because of large road-building & construction projects, but earnings are meager. In 1986 UNHCR/GOP initiated a "new arrivals program" in which new arrivals were given 1 month of rations (15 kgs, of wheat, 900 grams of edible oil, 14 kgs. of kerosene per head) to tide verified newcomers over the initial period. Unfortunately there are always those who take advantage of others in trouble. Soon after the program was initiated, already registered "newcomers" from near-by Baluchistan & the settled districts turned up in large numbers. Another ploy was for registered families to cross over into Afghanistan and then return, claiming to be fresh arrivals. In many cases it was impossible to distinguish real from bogus newcomers. UNHCR/GOP verification teams continue to search for genuine new arrivals in need, but in the remote areas many go unnoticed & unaided.

New arrivals in the FATAs admittedly compound their problems by refusing to go to the Punjab for registration, even knowing that registration in the FATAs & the NWFP has been closed except for special cases since 1985. Regardless, the newly arrived need special attention. They arrive physically & mentally exhausted, disoriented & malnourished. Those who claim the emergency phase is over should meet face to face with these groups.

Unfortunately no voluntary agency now works regularly in the remote areas where the need is greatest. They say that the Pakistani authorities will not allow them to work in the tribal & other remote areas because of lack of security. CAR/NWFP says that the agencies prefer to work close to Peshawar so as to have nightly access to foreign clubs & other entertainments. Our 1987 survey confirmed that there are 85 assistance programs in Peshawar, NWFP & Quetta, Baluchistan. Some have excellent out-reach programs, but many areas are still desperately in need of basic assistance.

We suggested that the agencies send personnel out on a rotating basis: a month in the field; a week (or more; negotiable) back with the delights of Peshawar. Frankly, if we had any say in the matter, we'd opt for a tour in Wana.

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## Afghan aid being wasted

MOSCOW: Russian journalist Kim Selikhov has described the squandering of millions of rubles of Russian aid in Afghanistan in one of the frankest accounts to date of the Soviet-Afghan experience.

Selikhov, writing in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, described how millions of rubles worth of goods were given to Afghanistan but failed to reach the people for whom they were intended.

"With every year, the flow of goods from the Soviet Union increases," he said. "Millions of rubles worth of goods from matches, salt, kerosene to vehicles and farming equipment are given gratis.

"But unfortunately up to the most recent times, this aid does not reach the working people. Our canned meat, cartons of powdered milk can still be found in small shops both in Kabul and in provincial cities."

Selikhov, whose article was headlined "The Difficult Path in Afghanistan", was

given a whole page in the influential newspaper to give his impressions in what he subtitled, "A Reporter's Notebook".

SCMP 10/16

BEYOND WANA: June 1987. A report from Sameen Khan of Sherpur.

Harkat ul Jihad el Islami International is an organization of Muslims from Burma, Bharat, Bangladesh, Iran, the Arab countries and Pakistan, who on their own initiative are fighting side-by-side with the Afghan mujahideen. It is an organization of Muslims for jihad in any part of the world where Muslims are under foreign domination or are being repressed. However, they do not concern themselves with the internal politics of any Muslim country. Its members are very young - all below 30 - who, after the success of the Iranian revolution and the successes of the Afghans against the Soviet Union, came to the conclusion that jihad with the sword is the only way out of the present inertia and the debacles of the Muslim world.

Afghanistan is merely a training ground for them. They will shift their activities to new areas if and when necessary. At first the Afghans made fun of these international Muslim fighters and politely requested them to keep away from this dangerous pastime. But gradually these volunteers, some of them no match physically to the super-fit Afghans, through sheer courage and faith have made the Afghans reluctantly accept them as fighters to be reckoned with.

So when several months ago the local representative of Harkat approached me to go inside Afghanistan to see things for myself, I, belonging to a family which originally migrated from Afghanistan and who suffers from a certain nostalgia for the place and take some interest in the Afghan cause, told him I would think the matter over. I am approaching 60 and am no longer young and virile. Moreover, at my age one gets used not merely to the basic comforts, but also to a certain rhythm of life - like sleeping in the afternoon, playing tennis, receiving guests in the evening and reading and sleeping late in the night. Although I inherited from my family a basic tenacity of purpose, I shall only be able to undertake such a hectic and dangerous trip on the basis of my will power and determination to reestablish the martial bonafides of my own family. Finally, during the month of Ramazan, I made my decision to go inside Afghanistan with this international group of mujahideen. I argued with myself that I do not suffer from any major ailment; my only disability will be lack of stamina in mountain climbing. If I do not go now I may never be able to go on such a hectic and dangerous mission.

We left on June 15. Following the Islamic precept of equality and in spite of my hosts' request that I travel in air-conditioned class, I traveled in the same class with my other companions. We were properly received in Faisalabad and feted in Jamia Furqania, about 10 miles away. Immediately thereafter we left in a 4-wheel-drive Toyota pick-up donated by a Karachi philanthropist. We arrived in Dera Ismail Khan, a desolate place with nothing to offer but its backwardness, but which by now may be transformed because of a new bridge across the Indus which will connect it to the eastern part of Pakistan.

I met the Commissioner, a very self-effacing and amiable Pathan. To establish a proper rapport I told him I was an unadulterated Yusufzai Pathan but that my wife was a Mohmand Pathan, and that I had medicines from Karachi for the Afghan refugees and the Tribal Areas. He was surprised as I was the first person from Karachi to come all the way and he suggested that I distribute them in Dera Ismail Khan. He advised me not to go to the Tribal Areas as it was dangerous and I was not armed. I told him I had read Akbar Ahmed's theories on Pathans and being one myself I still suffered from a certain nostalgia for the Tribal Areas. He agreed to my going to Wana in Waziristan - which is also the summer headquarters of the Political Agent. He took the precaution of phoning the Assistant Political Agent at Tank and asked him to arrange for armed guards to accompany me to Wana and entrust me to the Political Agent whose guest I was to be. Fortunately a respectable person and leader from Wana also came to see the Commissioner and, being a Waziri Pathan, he asked me to stay as his guest in Wana.

So the long drive to Tank, Jandula and Wana over winding roads commenced. At Tank 3 armed guards were put in my pick-up and at Jandula a new set of guards replaced them. Finally came the crunch of getting rid of the guards at Wana. It was Friday and the time for prayers and lunch was approaching. I stopped the pick-up at the market place in Wana and in my imperious Yusufzai-Sherpur manner ordered the guards to get down, that I was now going to lunch and Friday prayers. They did not dare question me.

Having got rid of the guards and without taking any lunch I raced toward Azam Warsak, the last check post and where the road ends. Then I began the arduous journey on a path strewn with stones toward the mujahideen headquarters, shared by the Harkat ul Jihad Islami and the Afghan guerrilla leader, Maulana Arsalan Khan, commander of the 7-party Islamic Alliance in Paktika Province, and under whose command the Harkat fighters operate. The markaz (headquarters) is situated in Pakistan very close to the Afghan border. Pakistan has built look-out posts and other similar structures along the border but they all seemed to be vacant. We arrived in the evening. Shots were fired as a salute and all the mujahideen came out to welcome us.

Life at the markaz, in spite of efforts to make my stay agreeable, is very, very austere. Obviously there is no electricity and, even if there were, for security reasons there would be a blackout. The kerosene lamp is dimmed at night. There are no toilets; one has to go out in the open air and since the markaz is mined for its security one cannot wander about. The markaz consists of several rooms, some small, some very large. The floors are littered with the remains of copters, planes, trucks, armored cars and some big guns captured from the Russians.

After dinner, which was prepared in a hurry and which we ate without any complaints since we had not had lunch, I tried to read some maps of the areas I was to visit. But since I was no longer used to reading by lamplight, it was next to impossible. We all went to bed on the floor of the same room but due to my chronic insomnia and the fleas, I could not sleep the whole night. However, since the war in Afghanistan is not merely a liberation movement but a jihad, the atmosphere both at the markaz and at the front is purely Islamic, so with all the others I had to get up for the morning prayers at 4:30 a.m. After breakfast, which generally consists of last night's bread, tea without milk and a lump of homemade sugar, but, because of me, this morning consisted of a fried egg and tea, I had to fill out a long and detailed form in a register. If something happens to me, what is to be done, who should be informed, etc.

Later, now being a mujahid, I was to familiarize myself with the weapon that I was going to use at the front. Because I was a special case this process was to be done inside the room although my special assistant had to go outside to get his instructions. I was offered the choice of a Russian, Chinese or Egyptian Kalishnikov. The weapon was dismantled, reassembled, and everything was explained to me in detail. I decided to try it. Thinking that I would be new to the weapon, they advised me to try it while sitting down and resting my arm on something. But I fired immediately and got a bull's eye on my second shot which surprised and overjoyed the mujahideen. After a sumptuous lunch and then checking to see if our tents at the front had been moved to some other place - a regular feature of guerrilla warfare - we left for Afghanistan. We filled our tanks at the last petrol pump at Angur Adda (claimed by both Afghanistan and Pakistan), which was bombed some time back; a mosque was destroyed and 60 people praying inside died on the spot.

On 6/20/87, 216 years after my ancestor Darya Khan had left it to fight in the 3rd battle of Panipat with Ahmed Shah Durrani, without passport or visa, I entered Afghanistan with the mujahideen. I had come back to the land of my ancestors, the land of my nostalgia and dreams, as a mujahid in the same manner as my ancestor had left it.

We drove on river beds and over mountains until we reached an open plain. On the left was the enemy cantonment at Urgun and on the right the vacant palatial houses of the Afghan refugees now in camps in Pakistan. Before we crossed the plain we recited the same prayer that the Holy Prophet recited at a fateful moment in His life. We drove at break-neck speed for over an hour. We stopped at a deserted mosque, beautifully painted inside with an ingenious heating system below the floor and a water rivulet flowing through it for ablutions. The mosque had escaped bombardment but the surrounding houses were all destroyed. The prayers of the mujahideen are short; there is no long wazifa or recital on the beads. We resumed our journey immediately afterwards. The moment we arrived at the mujahideen headquarters a Kalishnikov was fired, followed by the firing of anti-aircraft guns on the mountain peaks, as a signal of our arrival and as a personal salute to the return of an old Afghan belonging to a distinguished family.

Commander Maulana Arsalan Khan received me. I had pictured a swash-buckling hero and was expecting a personality and headquarters to suit such a vision, but there came toward me a man who had been seated on the ground. A bearded dark man wearing a light chocolate-colored ski-cap and a simple shalwar qameez (trousers and shirt). This unassuming man is renowned and feared by the enemy for his prowess in the battle field, his acumen in the art of guerrilla warfare and his strictness in dealing with prisoners in accordance with Sharia (Islamic law).

Night begins early at the front and after eating camel curry and the posting of the night guards, we retired to our tent. There were 7 of us in the tent and I decided to sleep near the flap. Fortunately I went to sleep early and the fleas did not bother me. As usual we rose at 4:30 a.m., prayed, and ate a frugal breakfast. The Harkat members went for their training on the river bed. The orders were given in Urdu, Persian and Arabic. To encourage the trainees, I did a sprint in their presence. After the training period, the mujahideen asked me if I would join them in shooting anti-aircraft guns at the enemy's cantonment. I readily agreed. With some difficulty and through sheer will-power I managed to reach the top of the mountain in 3 installments. I was instructed how to operate the gun, which as an "Afghan" I learned with little difficulty, and then I fired several shots at the Russian-occupied Urgun cantonment.

The anti-aircraft guns are placed in small caves large enough for two people who take turns manning the weapon. The cave contains the bare minimum of the requirements they need for survival. Near by in a dugout sat another mujahid with a Kalishnikov to cover the anti-aircraft crew.

The Afghans are greatly appreciative of the fighting capabilities of any person so when I came down to the valley, thus realizing that descent is more dangerous than ascent, I decided to show them how to fire the Kalishnikov. I asked them to bring the 3 guns, the Russian, Chinese and Egyptian. I hit the bull's eye several times with all 3 which delighted the mujahideen and they came to the conclusion that I was one of them.

Now it was time to have a long discussion on Afghanistan with Maulana Arsalan Khan. The salient points of this discussion, a long heart-to-heart talk between two Afghans held on a piece of cloth on the hills surrounding Urgun City, were as follows:

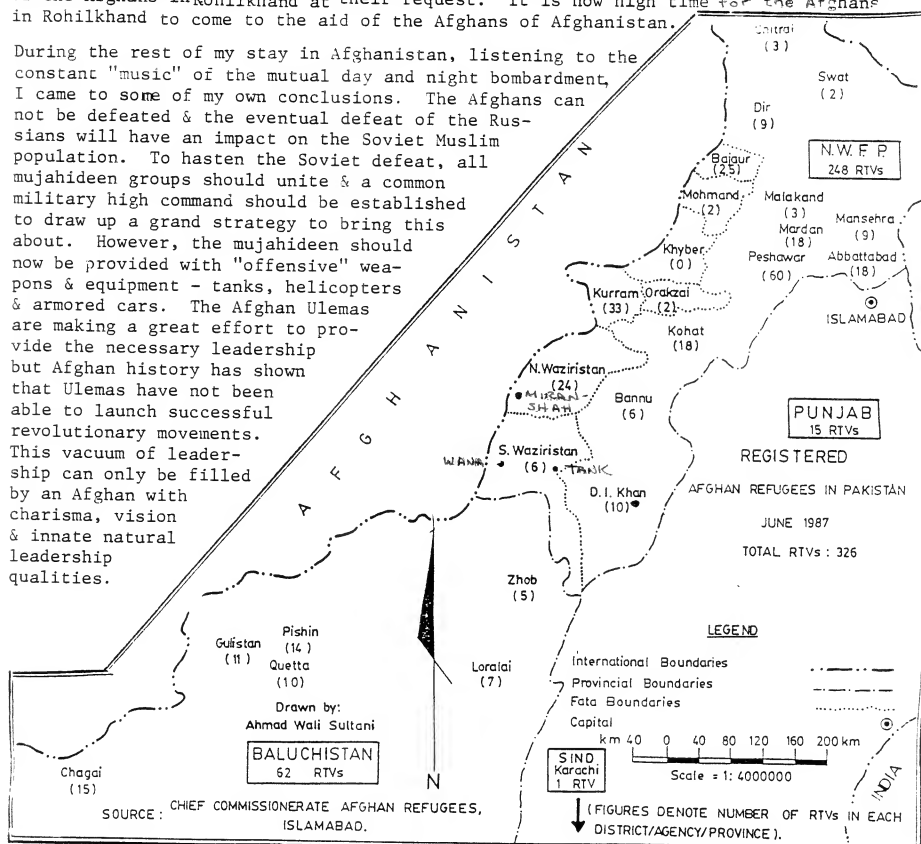
Due to large-scale immigration from Afghanistan and the NWFP to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent of the families of those Afghans who created empires and provided political leaders, Afghanistan was denuded of families who could give leadership. Because of this vacuum the leadership of Afghanistan went to Zahir Shah's family in Afghanistan and to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the NWFP. With the departure of Zahir Shah, those who stayed were incapable of creating empires. Now the Ulema of Afghanistan are attempting to fill this vacuum within Afghanistan. It is not at all possible for the Afghan people to accept Zahir Shah as head of state, either permanently or on a transitional basis, as it was due to his wrong policies of sending the Afghan army and air force officers for training in the USSR and allow-

ing Khalq and Parcham to preach communism in Afghanistan that the communist coup took place. Zahir Shah's return to Afghanistan is not acceptable to the mujahideen.

The struggle of the Afghan people is monumental and historic and they are prepared for a long battle against the Soviet Union. They shall not accept and cannot be forced to accept any settlement which will jeopardize their position. No super power, the UN or any country can force them to accept any settlement against their own interests. The struggle of the Afghan people and mujahideen is not a liberation movement but a jihad for the establishment of an Islamic State and to usher in an Islamic revolution in Afghanistan. I should emphasize that Afghanistan is a Sunni state. The success of the Afghan mujahideen and the establishment of an Islamic State as a result of an Islamic revolution shall have a far greater impact on the Muslim world than the Islamic revolution in Iran - a Shia state.

At present the Afghans are divided into 3 states: Afghanistan, the NWFP and Rohilkhand (United Provinces - India). The last time the 3 groups got together was in 1761 when they defeated the Mahrattas at the 3rd Battle of Panipat, near Delhi. At that time the Afghans in Afghanistan under Ahmed Shah Durrani came to the aid of the Afghans in Rohilkhand at their request. It is now high time for the Afghans in Rohilkhand to come to the aid of the Afghans of Afghanistan.

During the rest of my stay in Afghanistan, listening to the constant "music" of the mutual day and night bombardment, I came to some of my own conclusions. The Afghans can not be defeated & the eventual defeat of the Russians will have an impact on the Soviet Muslim population. To hasten the Soviet defeat, all mujahideen groups should unite & a common military high command should be established to draw up a grand strategy to bring this about. However, the mujahideen should now be provided with "offensive" weapons & equipment - tanks, helicopters & armored cars. The Afghan Ulemas are making a great effort to provide the necessary leadership but Afghan history has shown that Ulemas have not been able to launch successful revolutionary movements. This vacuum of leadership can only be filled by an Afghan with charisma, vision & innate natural leadership qualities.



# MORE CONTROVERSY OVER BOSTON UNIV. AFGHAN PROGRAM

By Wendell Jamieson  
Special to the Globe

The dean of Boston University's College of Communication deleted several negative references to Afghan rebels from a report that will be distributed to news organizations around the world.

The report will be provided to news agencies as an information source to be used in conjunction with film reports by Afghan journalists trained under a BU program in Pakistan.

According to H. Joachim Maitre, dean of the College of Communication, the background report was published to advertise the newly formed Afghan news service and not intended as an impartial news report. The first draft of the 29-page report, titled "A Background Report: Afghanistan," which included criticism of the rebels, was prepared by the Hearst Corp.

The United States Information Agency provided the College of Communication and Hearst with a \$500,000 grant in 1986 to train Afghan rebels in the basics of news reporting and to establish a news service in Pakistan. Under the original proposal, Hearst was responsible for advertising the news service, Maitre said.

But in December, Hearst withdrew from the project and the College of Communication took over marketing the program, including completing the report. BU edited and published the report in late August, according to Ronald S. Goldman, associate dean of the College of Communication.

Maitre's deletions dealt with allegations of atrocities committed by the rebels against Soviet forces. The largest single deletion read:

"Resistance forces are not blameless either. Before Soviet troops ascended on the country, Russian advisers and their families had been massacred in Herat and their heads carried on poles through the streets. Guerrillas have also been accused of executing Soviet and Afghan army prisoners."

Other deletions included a reference to a rebel group with "ties to Iran's Khomeini and Libya's Khadafi."

Charles E. Shutt, who directed the project for Hearst, said he delivered the report to the USA and, as far as he was concerned, "that was the end of it." He would not comment on Maitre's deletions, nor would he say whether he had been assigned to produce a factually accurate report or a public relations guide.

"I delivered it to the USA, and what they did with it was their business," he said.

Maitre said that the report was intended as a public relations booklet from the start and that his deletions constituted editing, not censorship.

He said he also corrected several other factual errors.

"I had no obligation to use Shutt's piece," Maitre said. "I could have thrown it away, which would have been the greatest act of censorship."

Maitre said he checked the report's facts with an Afghan historian, who said there was no proof of the atrocities. The historian, he added, also corrected several errors in the report, including erroneous photo captions.

But Maitre said that whether the reports of the atrocities were true or not, they had no place in a public relations guide designed to put the project in the best light.

Several College of Communication faculty members objected to the original plan to train the rebels, arguing that combatants would be unable to provide objective news reports of the war.

Maitre's predecessor, Bernard Redmont, resigned as dean of the college in July in protest over the program.

A number of faculty members refused to comment on Maitre's deletions. First reported Wednesday in BU's independent student newspaper, The Daily Free Press.

Professor James Thomson noted that the College of Communication consists of several schools, including those of journalism and public relations, and that teaching objective news reporting is not the only function of the college. Referring to the Afghan report, he said, "My view, in sum, is that this is no big deal."

The report extensively covers alleged atrocities committed by Soviet forces and by the government in Afghanistan. One passage reads: "Soviet and Afghan forces have been charged with the brutal massacre of every man, woman and child in more than 30 Afghan villages."

In contrast to its controversial program to train Afghan rebels, journalism, a program by Boston University's College of Communication to train 14 journalists from the Middle East and South Asia has generated no opposition.

Smith said most of the controversy over the Afghan project stemmed from objections to BU faculty going to Pakistan to teach. The latest program, he said, has generated no controversy, partially because it is being taught in the United States.

Several faculty members who were strongly critical of the Afghan training program said they saw nothing wrong with the latest initiative.

The Program's organizer  
BOSTON GLOBE 9/28

# BLOOD, SWEAT & DUST - RAMBO III From the LA Times Calendar, 10/11:

...Budgeted at \$31 million, "Rambo III" will shoot through November at locations including Ellat and caves near Jerusalem. Filming, which will wrap in December in Thailand, is currently under way in Africa (near Tel Aviv), following three weeks in the hills above the Dead Sea.

In this sequel to the monster hit "Rambo II," which grossed about \$375 million worldwide, Israel's breathtaking vistas are doubling for Russia-infested Afghanistan. . . . The storyline, co-scripted by Stallone, finds Rambo befriending a young Afghan boy and teaming with mujahideen tribesmen (Afghan freedom fighters) to fight the Soviets. . . .

"OK, Babe, you're on my turf now. This is Afghanistan."

Stallone mourned to the Soviet-occupied fort and its grounds that encircled him. Production designer Bill Kenney ("Rambo II," "Rocky IV") created the stronghold to look like a "period" Afghan fort (more than 200 years old) that has been "modernized" by Soviet occupants.

A crew of up to 30 worked day and night for 5½ weeks erecting the seven-acre set.

Located a bumpy drive (some of it in first gear) from the production encampment, one side of the fort is nestled just feet away from a 1,000-foot drop-off. The script, after all, calls for Rambo to scale the canyon walls to get into the fort to rescue Trautman.

To another side, a watchtower looms ominously. It will be blown up during the final days of filming in the area.

There are also metal catwalks from which Soviet soldiers patrol. And tents. And burnt-out rubble, including blackened vehicles of war. There are also smoldering fires, rolled barbed-wire, sandbags and tanks and jeeps.

Like much of the film's weaponry, the tanks and jeeps are authentic. "There's no Hollywood cheating going on," said Kenney, who explained that the vehicles are being used through arrangements with the Israeli military, which acquired the equipment in battles with its Soviet-armed neighbors.

The same holds true for the film's cache of more than 500 guns.

When property master Sam Moore ("The Untouchables") first arrived in Israel, he had a back-up plan: "Just in case I couldn't find what I needed here, I planned to go to Rome."

A trip to a Tel Aviv weapons dealer the first morning he arrived in the country put any uncertainties to rest.

Despised Moore: "No problem getting guns around here." In fact, much of the film's weaponry—according to the dealer through whom it's being rented—was captured from a ship bound for Lebanon. (For use in the film, they've been converted to shoot only blanks.)

Equally authentic are the costumes, especially of the "Afghans" (many of them bearing wounds of war) who wandered the set. The reason: Afghan consultant Sadiq Tawfiq suggested that clothes be purchased from real-life Afghans. So he went with costume designer Richard La Motte to Peshawar, the Pakistani border town where the mujahideen come to replenish their supplies and where displaced Afghans have gathered. Old clothing, some of it bloodied, was purchased, as were Afghan items from local shops. "So you see, not only will the

movie look very real," enthused Tawfiq, a Laguna Beach shop owner, "but we have also helped the people there."

Israelis have been largely cast in the roles of Afghans, while the Soviets are being played mostly by Americans, English and French. To insure that the film doesn't come off sounding like a Tower of Babel, Tel Aviv dialect coach Yonny Lucas is on hand to oversee the Pashtu and Russian dialogue.

As belita a war zone, the "Rambo III" set even has tough-on-the-nostri smells from all those fires and the special effects.

Plus the incessant sounds of rat-tat-tatting guns and helicopter take-offs and landings. And, as befit a Rambo romp, explosions. And more explosions. (Explosives were readily available to cast and crew and reporters.)

And lots of loudly-issued orders/warnings, from crew members like:

"More smoke!"  
"OK, everyone, this will be a Big One!"  
"Get ready to take cover!"

There was also the command, to one of the Soviet soldiers, prior to a shoot-out with Rambo: "More blood!"

Stallone was speaking from the shade of a large umbrella, awaiting his call for a scene in which he and Trautman attempt to commandeer a helicopter—a dismantled American-made Gazele was transported to this country in the belly of a 747, then put back together—"made up" to look like a Soviet Hind M12.

Explained Stallone: "Rambo is geared, built, toiled—whatever term you want to use—for geopolitical situations."

"For him, each challenge is a kind of a quest, a topical quest. You'll notice, too, that he's always running from something. Because he has nothing, really, to run to."

But what about sending Rambo to Soviet-invaded Afghanistan during glasnost and a promising détente with us?

Said Stallone hotly: "Look at this as a positive attempt to expose what is an open wound—and an unfair, unjust, genocidal situation that has no place on the face of this Earth."

He detailed the history—complete with body-count statistics and modes of warfare ("I mean, the Russians have dropped bombs that look like toys, to murder and maim that country's children")—of the Soviet-Afghan conflict.

Added Stallone: "It's a little tough to get behind the Russians with something like that, would you say?"

He was deadily serious, so that you almost forget that he's an actor making a movie.

Long impassioned about what he calls "a forgotten war," he added, "This is a war that nobody seems interested in, because it's so far away in a country we don't know much about."

He sighed, adding, "What I'm hoping to do is to bring to light a horrible situation that is taking place in the world."

"But I'm not kidding myself. There'll be some people who'll be waiting—to accuse me of Red-bashing. . . ."

**"The Crisis of Migration from Afghanistan: Domestic and Foreign Implications"**, co-sponsored by the Refugee Studies Programme and Dept. of Ethnology and Prehistory, Oxford University, Mar 29-Apr 2, 1987, fittingly enough, conducted its plenary sessions in a large and drafty tent in the back yard of Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford. The approximately 200 attendees exceeded the capacity of other available spaces. Clusters of 20 minute formal addresses were given in plenary session, with invited respondents and extensive discussion from the floor. Interpreters were provided for non-English-speaking participants. Workshops took place in smaller groups, and the conference ended with reports from workshop coordinators, who had been asked to try to elicit policy statements and resolutions, as well as retrospective findings, from their working groups, which were comprised of self-selected audience members and speakers. The format was intended to be both open and productive, a difficult thing to achieve in such a diverse group. Participants included representatives of Mujaheddin organizations and private voluntary organizations aiding refugees as well as journalists and academics. No official representatives of the Kabul government or Eastern Block research institutions concerned with the area attended, although they were invited. About a half dozen Polish scholars attended on an individual basis.

The conference was originally conceived to address the future of Afghanistan studies, with emphasis on cultural preservation as a sort of academic salvage operation. The broadening of the topic in its final form reflected both the breadth of interest of participants, and feedback from funding agencies in the course of planning the conference. One positive result was a shift away from any simple conceptualization of cultural preservation, toward a more multiplex consideration of the forces for change currently affecting Afghan people, and the directions that cultural and political change might take in the future. In such a diverse group, consensus was largely out of reach, but the diversity of voices heard was certainly to the organizers' credit. Apart from the unfortunate but predictable absence of representatives of the Kabul regime, voices of dissent (non-governmental views) from Pakistan were also somewhat underrepresented, though these were at least present. Formal presentations, loosely organized by topics, were as follows: AFGHANISTAN BEFORE 1978 AND THE EXODUS (Sayed Q. Reshtia, M.S. Wahidi-Wardak, Giorgio Vercellin, Raziq Palwal, Nazif Shahrani; Schuyler Jones, moderator); THE IMPACT OF LIFE IN EXILE (Nancy Dupree, Parwanah Zikria, M. Centlivres-Demont, Anthony Hyman, Sabahuddin Kushkaki, John Mailey, Gorm Pedersen, Alfred Janata; Nancy Tapper and Nabi Misdaq, moderators); THE HOSTS: THE IMPACT OF REFUGEES AND AID (Grant Farr, Omar Noman, Akbar S. Ahmed; Sandy Gail, moderator); RELIEF AGENCIES (Anders Fange, Nassim Jawed, Khazan Gul; Michael Harris, moderator); AFGHANISTAN AND

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (Gowher Rizvi, Michael Yahuda, Selig Harrison, Fatima Gailani, Nawab Salim; Randolph Kent, moderator); THE FUTURE OF AFGHAN SOCIETY (Adam Roberts, Selig Harrison, Olivier Roy, Richard Tapper, Ashraf Ghani; Edward Mortimer, moderator); and a final, plenary roundtable on the future of Afghanistan, moderated by Adam Roberts. An evening of Afghan music was provided by John Baily and Veronica Doubleday, with help from other musicians in the audience.

It is well-nigh impossible to summarize the proceedings. Moments stand out: an initial workshop designated for Dari-speakers drew about half the attendees, with the result that other, simultaneous workshops did not have Afghan participation and had to be rescheduled later. Respondents from the audience included additional representatives of Mujaheddin organizations, and exchanges were spirited at times, over such issues as the acceptability of Zaher Shah as a potential mediator in post-Soviet Afghanistan, or the role that western great powers or the UN can or should play in bringing the Soviets to a decision to withdraw, and in planning for Afghanistan's future. There was some consensus among representatives of Mujaheddin groups, private relief agencies, and some of the independent academics and journalists present that the Great Powers' preference for negotiations without direct Resistance representation is obvious and needs to be counteracted, for both practical and moral reasons. Despite an overall emphasis on political history and on problems of service provision to refugees in the observations presented, there was a general recognition that some important areas of concern are underrepresented in concrete data because too little is happening; e.g. in the areas of education (technical and higher education being in even shorter supply than primary education) and cultural preservation among refugees outside Afghanistan. Dr. Nancy Tapper was induced to agree to prepare the proceedings for publication. She deserves both thanks and wishes for good luck. This participant often wished to be in several places at once. For more information, write to Dr. Barbara Harrell-Bond, The Refugee Studies Programme, 21 St. Giles, Oxford OX1 2JA. A list of advance registrants, with addresses, was circulated to registrants at the meeting. For addresses of participants on that list, contact M. Mills, Folklore & Folklife, 415 Logan Hall 6304, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104.

Margaret Mills  
Univ. of Pennsylvania

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

AFGHANISTAN: KEY DOCUMENTS FROM 6 DECADES is available from CIS Academic Editions, 4520 East-West Highway, Suite 800-DM, Bethesda, MD 20814-3389, for \$1,485 (\$1,745 after 1/31/88).

Documents in the CIS microfiche collection date from the earliest U.S. official contacts in the 1920s and span the years through 1984—including the assassination of U.S. Ambassador Adolph Dubs and the onset of the Soviet invasion in 1979.

Selection of documents for the collection was based on a widely praised bibliography compiled by Dr. Julian W. Witherell, Chief of the Library of Congress' Africa and Middle East Research Services. The collection was assembled from the Library of Congress and other federal and academic libraries to form the most complete file of its type in existence.

Among the more than 600 documents are:

- treaties and agreements between the countries
- federal agency reports on programs
- private contractors reports to federal agencies
- federal agency technical and statistical reports
- UN agency reports and documents
- foreign government and private reports and commentaries, in translations primarily by the Joint Publications Research Service

All are official documents, either because they were issued by a federal or UN agency, were reports to an agency, or were translations made for federal agencies.

A 172-page printed bibliography, prepared by Dr. Witherell and published by the Library of Congress in 1986, provides reliable access to the collection.

UNDER A SICKLE MOON: A JOURNEY THROUGH AFGHANISTAN by Peregrine Hodson, Atlantic Monthly. Paperback. 240 pp. \$7.95. (see p. 30).

AMONG THE AFGHANS by Arthur Bonner, Duke University Press, 6697 College Station, Durham, NC 27708. \$27.95.

"Death of an Afghan Village" by Philip Edwards in the November SOLDIER OF FORTUNE an account of a 1985 visit to Paghman.

"Signs that Moscow is Tiring of War" by Maxine Pollack in INSIGHT, 8/3/87.

Lars Yager gives an update on a tribal cottage industry in "The Gunmakers of Darra" in the November issue of GUNS.

"Soviet Economic Interests in Afghanistan by M.S. Noorzoy in PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, May-June, 1987. PP. 43-54.

Afghanistan is included in J.C. Harle's THE ART & ARCHITECTURE OF THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT, a volume in the Pelican History of Art published by Viking Penguin, Inc., 40 West 23rd St., New York, NY 10010.

paper	0-14-056149-8	600 pp.	\$18.95
cloth	0-14-056049-1	600 pp.	\$40.00

Raleigh Trevelyan recounts a journey to Afghanistan in part 1 of THE GOLDEN ORIOLE, Viking, 1987. 536 pp., \$24.95.

"It was a tragedy that Soviet forces intervened in Afghanistan," an interview between Lawrence Lifschultz & Soviet scholar Nodari Simoniya in THE HERALD [Pakistan]. July 1987.

PRESENT CONDITION OF AFGHANISTAN & MY POSITION IN THIS REGARD, a booklet containing a speech by Maulavi Yunus Khalis, was published by the Cultural Committee of Hezb-e-Islami Afghanistan in May.

The September issue of AFGHANISTAN IN THE WORLD PRESS published by the Afghan Jihad Works Translation Center in Peshawar has translations of "Russia's Vietnam" by Jan Goodwin; "Afghan Resistance & Pakistan's Security, Pakistan Times 9/6/87; "Afghanistan: Am Starksten Leidet Die Bevolkerung" by A. Stahel & P. Bucherer Dietschi; "When Ivan Comes Marching Home" by Bohdan Nahaylo in The American Spectator; "Soviets Bomb an Afghan Clinic" from the Swiss Press Review & News Report.

AFGHANISTANBLÄTTER is published by the Assistance Committee for Afghan Political Refugees, Klosterallee 78, 2000 Hamburg 13, West Germany. (See Organizations.)

Articles in the July-August issue of AFGHANISTAN TODAY (Block 106, Ansari Wat, Kabul) include "A Noble Mission," "1st Year of Quinquennium," "Towards Universal Enlightenment," "The Land of Light," "In Search of Progress" & "Transport for Development."

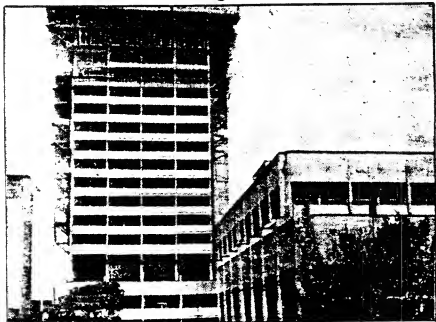
THE FRONT, a quarterly magazine, & JEHAD NEWS, a bi-weekly bulletin, are publications of the cultural & political departments of the Nat'l Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA) respectively. Both publications are available in the US from Rodney Rodding, 7446 Adams Park Court, Annandale, VA 22003, free of charge but please send \$5.00 to cover the postage for a year's supply.

# CHRONOLOGY

8/11 - AICMB #78 - Lt. Col. Atiqullah, Political Chief of the DRA Air Academy, was killed in Kabul.

8/12 - PT - At a conference in Ghor Province, attended by 1,200 prominent mujahideen commanders, a 21-point resolution was adopted. It called for the establishment of a supreme Jihad Council to coordinate war activities & evolve an outline for Afghanistan's future political system. The Council is to try to unite all the Islamic parties, establish harmony between war activities & the political decisions of leaders living outside Afghanistan, establish a country-wide communication system & set up new centers for mujahideen to oversee the civil administration. The resolution also calls for the Soviets to pay compensation for the loss of property & life they have caused in Afghanistan. (See p. 14)

8/12 - KNT - The 18-story Ministry of Communications building will be ready for occupancy next March. It will be the tallest building in the DRA.



A view of the 18-story building nearing completion. (KNT photo)

8/14 - Washington Times - Mujahideen destroyed ca. 133 Soviet tanks, personnel carriers & trucks & killed 800 Soviet soldiers in a 4-day battle on the Kabul-Jalalabad road last month. Some 5,000 mujahideen were involved in the "Operation Avalanche" & were protected by Stingers along the 37-mile front. The Soviet garrison at Sarobi was wiped out by the group which was led by Rahim Wardak.

8/19 - BIA - The 68th anniversary of Afghanistan's independence & Army Day were "gloriously marked" in Kabul.

8/22 - Kayhan Int'l - Last month the Soviets used chemical gas bombs in the Arghandab area of Kandahar:

The Russian-occupational authorities have used chemical gas in the Arghandab area surrounding Qandahar city, resulting in the outbreak of skin and eye diseases among hundreds of people in the area.

Agency Afghan Press sources said that the Napalm bombing was the third deployed in the area. The gas bombs were dropped from aircraft over the civilian areas on the morning of July 20. A total of 12 villages were affected by

the gas resulting in hundreds of people developing skin and eye ailments.

The Russians had used chemical gas in the Dand and Arghandab areas in May of this year, but fortunately, torrential rains washed away the gas and the local inhabitants were saved from its adverse effects.

In Quetta, Pakistan, 2 French journalists who recently visited the war-torn areas of Qandahar confirmed the use of chemical bombs by the Russians.

- BIA - Since the announcement of "National Reconciliation" over 3,350 NR commissions have been set up in the DRA; 70,000 emigres have returned & 30,000 "armed people" have joined the "people's sovereignty."  
- Najib visited Kandahar accompanied by Defense Minister Gen. Moh'd Rafi & State Security Minister Farouq Yaqubi.

8/24 - PT - Gulbuddin & Rabbani told a group at the Inst. of Afghan Affairs in Lahore that the Iranians & the Iraqis should sink their differences & fight for the liberation of Afghanistan.

8/25 - BIA - Air Force Day was celebrated for the first time in Afghanistan.

- The budget for projects in Kabul will be Afs. 9.3b in 1987 (see p. 32).

8/26 - AICMB #78 - Haji Bahlul, DRA District Adm. for Arghandab, was killed in Kandahar by DRA soldiers who had been sent in from Jowzjan. They were mujahideen before surrendering to the DRA.

8/28 - PT - A bomb blast in Jalalabad last week killed & injured over 150 - mostly Khad officials who were attending a meeting.

- Radio Kabul reported that Kandahar had been partly destroyed & called for citizens to help rebuild it. During recent fighting, DRA troops bulldozed a large area to create a no-man's land between the city & the suburbs (see p. 14).

## BOOK REVIEWS

UNDER A SICKLE MOON: A JOURNEY THROUGH AFGHANISTAN by Peregrine Hodson (Atlantic Monthly. Paperback, 240 pp. \$7.95) was reviewed in the Los Angeles Times on 9/24 by Jonathan Kirsch:

The allure of "Under a Sickle Moon," Peregrine Hodson's account of his travels with *mujahedin* of Afghanistan, is the same quality that we find in spy novels, tales of the quest and superior travel writing—the fascination of a journey into a strange and beautiful but dangerous place in search of some enormous but elusive truth. Hodson's book is really a blend of all three, and I was hooked from the first page, where we find Hodson in full disguise, bearing the name Abdul and waiting in some obscure Pakistani border town for the mysterious figure who will conduct him into the company of the *mujahedin* and their holy war against the Soviet occupiers of their country.

"Stay here, Abdul. Don't talk to anyone. Wait for a man called Mahmoud." So said my guide, who promptly disappeared into the jostling crowds of men," Hodson recalls of his first day on the quest. "I squatted by the side of the road with the sun on my back and the smell of wood-smoke in the air but my thoughts were elsewhere: moving between images of Kipling and memories of charades."

Hodson, a young English attorney and banker, apparently aspired toward an adventure before starting work in "the City." He secured credentials from a London newspaper and equipped himself with the tools of the post-industrial amateur war correspondent: camera, tape recorder, Swiss Army knife, money belt, pocket Bible, Walkman and audiocassettes: Bach and Bob Dylan, Vivaldi and the Doors. And he embarked on a perilous adventure that placed him squarely in harm's way: on a march into Afghanistan with a caravan bearing Kalashnikov rifles and anti-tank rockets to be used against the Soviets, in an ambush by a rival faction of *mujahedin*, under aerial bombardment and commando attack by Soviet troops, and—finally—in a desperate escape from Soviet firepower and the onset of winter across the high peaks of the Afghan frontier.

### Politics and Passions

Along the way, Hodson reports in vivid and intriguing detail about the lives and politics and passions of the *mujahedin*, the harsh beauty of the Afghan hinterland, the geopolitics of the holy war against the Soviet invaders and the theological intricacies of fundamentalist Islam.

(He reports too on various incidents of the gastrointestinal distress and other illnesses that afflicted him through his journey, which only adds to the sense of authenticity of "Under a Sickle Moon"—Hodson is no foreign correspondent, but then "he is no armchair adventurer, either.)

The early allusion to Kipling, as it turns out, is perfectly appropriate. Hodson is the heir to the fine old tradition of British wanderlust and the British literary impulse toward the "lesser breeds without the Law." He is heir, too, to a certain condescending and sometimes abusive attitude toward the ragged, impoverished and unsophisticated Afghans whose hard lives and desperate fight he shared for a few months. Still, we may understand such irascibility in a man who was very nearly decapitated by one *mujahed* who accidentally fired an anti-tank rocket at Hodson while playing with its firing mechanism around the campfire.

"As tactfully as possible I told them that, in England, pointing an anti-tank rocket at a person's head was a serious breach of etiquette," Hodson deadpans. "As I was loosening the cords of my pack a *mujahed* with a disarmingly simian face wandered up to me. 'Allah fazl,' he murmured. 'God is excellent.'"

### Feuding in the Ranks

It's significant that the Atlantic Monthly Press offers Hodson's book in its "Traveler" series rather than as a work of history or politics. "Under a Sickle Moon" is dated—Hodson's adventures took place in the fall of 1984—and its reportage tends to be oblique and anecdotal. Still, we learn something important and perhaps surprising from Hodson: The *mujahedin* are not fighting for democracy in Afghanistan; rather, they are fighting for a semi-feudal Islamic theocracy, and they are prone to fight each other as readily as the Soviets.

In fact, one of the book's most dramatic and heartbreaking moments is the ambush by which one faction of *mujahedin* seizes the weapons of another faction in order to threaten yet a third faction! And, tragically, Hodson allows us to understand that the war that some have called "the Soviet Union's Vietnam" is, in fact, more nearly a

war of attrition that the Soviets appear to be winning by using Vietnam-style "search and destroy" missions on the ground and Guernica-style bombardment.

Yet Hodson also allows us to see the simple, fierce and enduring faith that sustains the *mujahedin* in their suffering and their struggle, which may be the most important lesson of all: "Americans want to make difficulties for the Russians more than they want to help men who are making the jihad. The people of the West think politics are more important than religion. They do not understand Islam," one *mujahed* tells Hodson. "We are fighting against men who forget their God for the sake of things of his word."

### PANJSHIR FOLK GEMS

Reviewed in the KNT on 9/20:

—Sangerdial Panjshir (Panjshir folk couplets), in Dari.

—By Nilab Rahimi. —State Committee for Culture 165 pages.

Genuineness of folklore of those people is deep whose cultural and social foundation do not undergo, rapid changes. Green forests, fertile plains, crystal springs, deep valleys, roaring rivers and exhilarating climate of the slopes of the Hindu Kush have inspired the Panjshir people through centuries to create priceless folk literature. People who live in such beautiful natural condition cannot but play a great role in the cultural life and values of the society.

The horizon before us is growing brighter every day, and time takes us away far from the past. To estimate our progress from the previous to the present, we need certain yardsticks and one of these can be the folkloric treasure of our people properly compiled and brought out for study and enjoyment.

In this regard, the effort of Nilab Rahimi who after long search has collected gems of Panjshir folklore and compiled it in book form, is indeed praiseworthy. To understand the meaning of colloquial words in Sangerdial, he has usefully added a glossary to his book.

The book has published recently by the Cultural Department of the State Committee for Culture and is printed on good paper. It also contains a short Gazetteer explaining place names which are mentioned in the couplets.

Sangerdi is local term for couplets. Haidari Vojudi, gifted contemporary poet, sings Sangerdi:

Lets run in the spring time,  
Like partridges smiling to the mountain-oaks.

Sing Sangerdi in the manner of Ariana.  
On the sky reaching ridges of its mountains.

Nilab Rahimi says in his preface to the book: "These oral melodies are usually recited on big rocks, mountain peaks and ridges. Sang means rock or stone, hence Sangerdi refers to singing on a rock."

Sangerdis embrace woes and joys of peasants and common people. Their study is very important from the point of view of anthropology, sociology and culture of people. Below are noted some Sangerdis from the book.

You sell fresh roses just by the gate of your house  
My sweetheart, you sell the kiss for gold!

I wish God take away the poverty and indigence,

I am the neighbour, but you sell it in another place.

O, sweet lass, you are going to Mazari!

Your ringlet is scorpion and eyebrow a serpent  
If you embrace me just one night,

I would turn Haji and have been to Mecca three hundred times.

My sweetheart is in the valley and I am on its top

I wish I were a cotton handkerchief so the wind could carry me.

And take me to my sweetheart...

I place my head in her bosom and go to sleep.

There are printing errors in almost every page of the book and the author has given corrections promptly but 10 percent of the errors still remain.

According to the author, the proof reader was not familiar with the dialect of Panjshir. The book does not have an index.

The book will undoubtedly occupy a high place in folklore studies and encourage others to undertake similar studies.

(By Afif)

# HAZARAJAT NEW TIMES

## Make Hazarajat foremost land of peace: Najib

In the name of God, Almighty,  
Dear compatriots, distinguished guests,  
Dear Hazara brothers:

We have gathered here today for an open and serious talk on the future of the country and the people of Hazara and I want to express my confidence that the first nation-wide jirgh of Hazara nationality, which is being held on the decision of the June planners, will be recorded in the history of Afghanistan as the jirgh of peace, jirgh of truth and jirgh of friendship and understanding.

I believe that the cause of national reconciliation, set forth by the revolutionary power, will unite us into an unshakable single force, a force which is able to furl the reckless conspiracies of the enemies of our homeland who want to preserve for ever backwardness, cruelty, repression and enslavement in Afghanistan.

I am convinced that in speaking to the people of Hazara, our commitments will not remain on paper or as mere words. Every word expressed by the revolutionary power to you is decisive and will be put into effect at the earliest.

I believe that by joint efforts an end will be put to discord, hostility and distrust which have disturbed the friendship of Hazara nationality with other peoples of our multinational country in the course of centuries and the principles of genuine equality and mutual co-operation will be reestablished in relations among nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of Afghanistan.

Thus let the sacred ideas of peace, truth, friendship and mutual understanding echo in all our talk be reflected in our decisions and warmly welcomed by all the people of Hazara as well as all of our compatriots. Let these noble ideas be transformed into the strong basis of life and embodied in epic and great deeds.

Dear friends:  
The history of the fraternal Hazara people is inseparably linked to the 2400 years' history of united Afghanistan. In the course of these years your fathers and forefathers have worked side by side with other nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of the country and jointly defended the independence of the country in the struggle against aggressors.

In the history of relations between the Hazara nationality and the state of Afghanistan, many pages have been recorded, some of them in tears and blood. These pages speak of the merciless cruelty and repression of despotic feudal regimes against this peace-loving people, undermining their rights and human dignity as well as the plunderous encroachments of Khans and lords over your peace-loving people. Other pages are written by the sweat on the brow of the working people of Hazara. In all these, we read the great role played by the Hazara people in the development of national economy and culture as well as in the construction of an independent and sovereign Afghanistan.

The working people of Hazara have always earned their daily bread by the blisters on their hands and the sweat of their brow and despite all their misery and destitution, never stretched hands to beg from any one. They ascended life in mountain caves but never bowed down their heads before men of power. They accepted to live in garages but never had a greedy eye towards the belongings of others. They built their own houses, but themselves spent the whole life sheltering others. They prepared food and drinks for this and that person, but themselves passed the night with empty stomachs.

The ideas of justice and equality were alien to the unpopular regimes of the country. The Kings and Amirs by fanning national animosity between Pashtoons, Tajiks and Hazara, tried to subjugate the peace-loving peoples and to keep them under cruel exploitative feudal repression. The reactionary rulers of Afghanistan had turned the valourous working people of Hazara into outcasts.

In the past years, the hardest work and the lowest wage, poverty, illiteracy and national and social inequality were the lot of Hazara nationality.

The April Revolution, the great resurrection, put an end to repression, oppression and injustice. The revolutionary power under the banner of national-democratic transformations, has led the people of the country towards genuine equality and protest. Foundations have been laid for the renewal and improvement of entire spheres of social life. The first great steps have been taken towards overcoming the centuries-old backwardness. The popular power has launched a decisive offensive against poverty, illiteracy and disease. For the first time in the whole history of Afghanistan, the state has paid due attention to meet the wishes and aspirations of the masses of people.

For the first time, the people of Hazara have acquired a worthy place in the Afghan society. Today we see the talented representatives of the Hazara people among the main political personalities, responsible employees of the state apparatus, among outstanding scholars, teachers, engineers, officers, generals and creative intellectuals. Your sons have found the opportunity to study in institutes and universities. Many of the talented Hazara students have been sent abroad by the popular power to pursue their higher education in the Soviet Union and other countries.

The fratricidal war of reaction and bloodshed, which has disturbed the land of Afghanistan for the last nine years, erected stumbling blocks to the realization of humane and noble ideas. This war has been waged by the forces opposing the renewal of our homeland.

These forces are the internal counter-revolution who want to restore the rule of feudalism, usurers and corrupt bureaucrats. Also, these forces are the reaction of the region who are afraid that the victory of national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan will inspire the peoples of other countries and stimulate them to fight against dictatorial and undemocratic regimes. These forces are international imperialism which try to bring Afghanistan under its domination and to enslave it in the chains of neocolonial dependency.

All of them are enemies of revolutionary power, each nationality, tribe and peace-loving ethnic group. Today our enemies have one objective i.e., defeating the policy of national reconciliation and the continuation of meaningless bloodshed by all means.

When explosions take place and shots are fired one cannot teach knowledge to children. Wherever there is no order and tranquility, one can not operate machines in a factory, tend pastures and make use of agricultural machinery. Creative work and war oppose each other. Peace and prosperity are part and parcel of each other.

It is for this very reason that the PDPA has initiated and ordered the only policy, i.e., the policy of national reconciliation, which is able to take the country towards peace. Probably, you have heard a lot both here in Kabul as

well as in your villages, about the objectives and methods of this policy. This is not something strange. Since January 15, i.e., since the time we declared unilateral cease-fire and other measures of the state towards reaching a durable peace in the country, eight months have elapsed. These months have brought many victories for us while the most important of them is the approval and the full support of the Afghan people to the policy of national reconciliation. This support demonstrates the rightness of the great cause of peace.

But the cunning irreconcilable enemy has not laid down the weapons. Their resistance has further intensified and serious obstacles exist on our path to peace. No one is able to remove these obstacles alone. Today, we can state with full confidence that the victory of national reconciliation is the common task of the entire Afghan people. But one should not wait for the neighbour to bring peace home. One should not sit at idle while the enemy sets fire to the walls of one's house.

We know that the minorities are equipped with the most modern weapons. They have found sanctuary in inaccessible localities. They kill peace-loving residents and take hostage esteemed elders. But you should take power and initiative in your own hands. You should strive for understanding with the leaders of the armed bands. Most of them do not know why they shed their own blood and that of others.

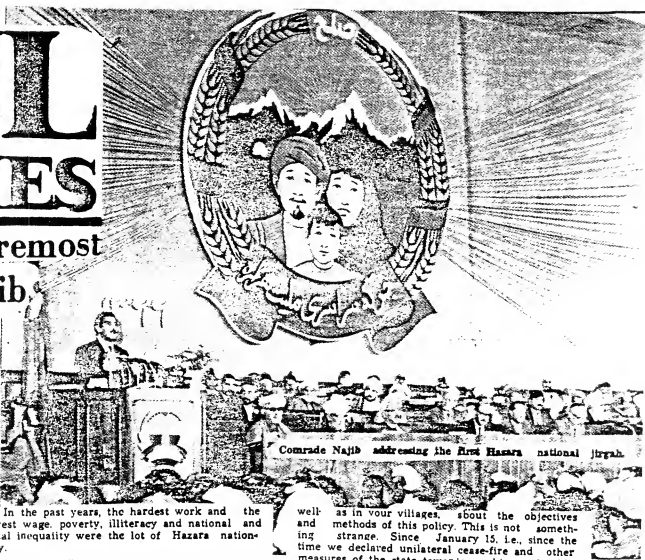
You know that the units of the Afghan and Soviet armies have been withdrawn from the Hazara inhabited provinces. Now, you yourselves can solve all the concerned issues. You have done this on many occasions. Will a brother not realize the word of another brother or a Hazara, the word of another Hazara if they solve their problems peacefully and with goodwill?

Let the regiments and units formed by you ensure peace order and tranquility in the ancient land of Hazara. We will assist with all our possibilities your inalienable right to own your land as well as your sacred right to a peaceful and secure life.

Long live Hazarajat, the peaceful home of the entire honest and pious Hazaras, the first region of peace in the country.

Dear brothers:

Ensuring peace in the Hazara-inhabited provinces would immediately provide wide possibilities for rendering economic and cultural assistance to the once backward regions of the country. This assistance comprises huge sums from the state budget for the reconstruction of the 2-year socio-economic development plan of Hazarajat. Also it encompasses free distribution of primary goods which have been put at our disposal as brotherly assistance by the Soviet Union.



Comrade Najib addressing the first Hazara national jirgh.

Our old friend and great neighbour, the Soviet Union, stands beside us.

In this grand jirgah I once again express our profound gratitude for the disinterested and brotherly assistance rendered by the friendly country, the Soviet Union, to the DRA. Our friendship is unshakable and it will further consolidate day by day. The wrong claims of the enemies of Afghan-Soviet relations have been exposed and the Hazara people have seen once and for ever who is their friend and who is the enemy.

The attention of social circles is focused today on the article written by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on "Reality and guarantees of a secure world." The peaceful, constant and clear position of the Soviet Union is reflected in this article, which voices the interest of the people of the world and new constructive proposals for the creation of an international security system. The call for and the practical steps taken by the Soviet leader towards the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons are good examples for all the states of the world.

The people of Afghanistan know quite well what measures have been taken by the Soviet Union for the political solution of disputes, establishment of good-neighbourly relations and mutual co-operation with other countries, including the DRA. The people of Afghanistan are thirsty for peace more than any other people and support the peaceful endeavours of the Soviet leadership.

In the near future we will launch all our efforts to render assistance to other specific areas as well. In order to provide possibilities for the wide and all-out growth of Jafheri Feqah in the regions inhabited by its disciples, i.e. Jazair-Ata, Kabul or other cities, a section for Shiite sect within the framework of the Faculty of Theology and a special madrasa will be established. We will organize the publication of weeklies in your mother tongue. We will broadcast radio programmes for Hazarajat in particular and will render assistance for the growth of popular traditional art. The State Committee of Culture has been assigned to establish the Hazara folklore ensemble.

We agree to revise the existing frontiers of the Hazara inhabited provinces and to change them in accordance with the historic dictate of the populace having genuine Hazara roots. But as you know, this matter is very complicated and needs to be solved gradually. We insist on this right after the cessation of war, we will realize it in full.

We are ready to include the worthy representatives of the people of Hazara in the Revolutionary Council and to further strengthen by including them, the Council of Ministers, including the Commission Ministers and offices. We assure you that Hazara comrades should be included in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well. We will also include Hazara comrades in the Supreme Command of the Afghan Army.

We request you to create the necessary links during the jirgah and place them for assessment. We will try to assess them by the end of the jirgah. We are ready to increase the number of the Hazara students who will be sent abroad, including to the Soviet Union. We look forward to receive from you concrete proposals in this regard.

Your requests regarding the provision of economic assistance to Hazarajat, i.e. construction of roads, repair of bridges, expansion of commercial relations and the supply of products of craftsmen will be studied carefully. You will learn in the near future about concrete measures in this regard.

Dear friends:

As you see we are ready to assess seriously and precisely your requests and demands. The main principle of our work is unity of words and deeds and the immediate realization of decisions taken. The restructuring which is being carried out by the party is based on this principle. The force which ensures the broad support of the masses of peoples to the party, is embodied in this principle. We will fulfil our commitment, but we expect you to reciprocate. Honesty and adherence to mutual commitments are the character of real men. We profoundly believe that the present jirgah will be transformed into a great family will decide over the transformation of Hazarajat into the first peace region in Afghanistan.

Dear friends:

I congratulate you on the beginning of the work of the Hazara nationwide Jirgah. We should employ our force in the sacred struggle for the struggle for peace in our land. I pray to Almighty God for the success of the Jirgah.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1967

# Kabul: tackling problems

The volume of investments on basic establishments is increased every year and undoubtedly this process would acquire new dimensions with the expansion and implementation of the policy of national reconciliation. The volume of construction work is higher than in any other economic sphere in the country. Around 25 billion Afis have been allocated for these establishments in 1967.

During the last seven or eight years, several new construction units have been set up in the country and the other construction units like Afghan Construction Unit, Pre-fabricated Housing Complex, and Banase Construction Unit have augmented their activities in this field.

Currently, the Hindukush Construction Unit, construction department of the Ministry of Interior, construction department of the Ministry of Defence, Ariana construction unit, state enterprise for shelters, construction unit of the executive committee of the council of people's deputies of Kabul city, the department of maintenance, Helmand construction unit and Spinjar construction unit are developing their work with increased investment.

To take the main areas of construction in Kabul city, the large number of construction projects have partially been completed in Pul-e-charkhi, Khairkhana, Mina, Kharina, Parwan, Khushal Mina and Wazirabad areas as per the municipal plan, while in some other parts houses have been built without plan.

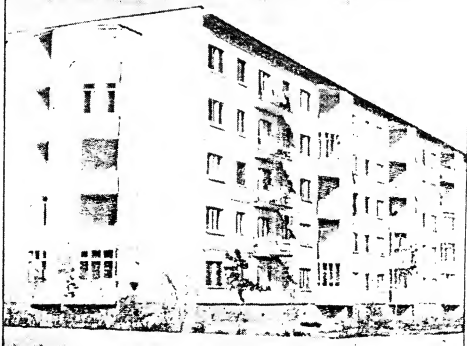
Gigantic transport, industrial and loading and unloading establishments have been established adjacent to Pre-fabricated Housing Complex in Khawisa Bughra.

The Academy of Tarandoy, The Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee, Watan Children's Home and the army educational centre were constructed in Afshar. Likewise, residential projects are being carried out in third Parwan, Shahrara and Dahkekap areas.

The construction activities along the road of Darul Aman, Anarsi War and in the centre of the city are of great importance. The pre-fabricated housing factory is building 800 residential apartments every year.

The state planning committee has earmarked 9.3 billion Afis for Kabul city in 1967, of which 5.6 billion Afis are from foreign finance.

AUGUST 25, 1967



A view of residential apartments in third Mirorayan, Kabul.

A sum of about 870 million Afis, has been allocated to the executive committee of the council of people's deputies of Kabul city in the current year. The investment on social services in Kabul city is 4.9 billion Afis of which over two billion Afis have been spent on residential houses in the city.

Over one billion Afis would be spent for construction of educational and training centres. The main projects in the field of social services are the construction and equipping of 14 technical schools, schools of Watan Children's Home in third Parwan, Afshar and first Mirorayan, residential project in third Parwan, Shahrara and third Mirorayan, construction of residential houses for personnel of the Ministry of Defence in Bi Bi Mahro and Qargha areas, Tarandoy residential township, construction of schools in third mirorayan and workers' township, the 24-class school of Tajwar Sultana.

The construction of schools in third Parwan, Pulcharkhi, Khairkhana, Khairkhana, Khairkhana and Afshar, the hostel of the Academy of Tarandoy, Darul Aman Polyclinics, kindergartens of the third Parwan and Wazirabad, the two hundred bed hospital of Tarandoy, the purchase of medical equipment of blood bank, construction of residential township in Rahman Mina for families of the martyrs of the path of revolution etc. are also covered in government's social plans.

Generally speaking, the government has allocated around two billion Afis for transport and communications, 1.8 billion Afis for mine and power, 250 million Afis for agriculture and irrigation, 280 million Afis for removing water shortage in Kabul city and 85 million Afis for sewage purposes.

The sewage system of the Kabul which is one of the big construction projects requires 563 million Afis as per the calculations made in 1972. The need to building a sewage in the Kabul city is quite a pressing one.

Besides, numerous difficulties caused by the undeclared war, Kabul city was faced with the

unprecedented influx of refugees from neighbouring provinces. The population of the city has risen several fold as a result.

Kabul had to expand its transport, education and health services drastically. Residential quarters, roads, water and power networks had to be extended to meet the growing needs and expectations of the city dwellers.

Today Kabul is not only the home of over one million population but also a dynamic city serving as the symbol of sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

(By Farooq)

## Asoda wins poetry prize

Aziz Asoda began writing poetry in 1970. He depicts in his poems social and ethical themes and has also composed epics.

He had entered his "Song Cycle of Reconciliation", "Homeland-My Mother", "Message of a Martyr", "Clamour of peace" and "Bread", in the contest.

Aziz Asoda has always lived among the people.



and written for them. He has prepared two collections of his poems for publication. We find distinctive humanism in all his poems.

Hundreds of his poems have appeared in literary journals and papers of the country for nearly two decades. "Emotion", "Lost hope", "Stranger", "A hungry city", "A fellow traveller", "A woman" and "The poor" are some of his famous poems.

Besides poetry he is also author of many critical essays, literary research papers, and short stories. His stories have appeared in many journals. "Silver teeth", "The lane" and "Water" are his outstanding stories.

8/23

# Ghafar Khan, great Pashtoon

## fighter

(By: A. Omarzada)

Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan is a popular name in Afghanistan, India and throughout the world. He is recognised as the great political leader of Khudai Khidmatgars and Pashtoon Pans. He is an outstanding fighter for the independence and sovereignty of his homeland and emancipation of Pashtoons.

Although Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan is contemporary to us, the exact date of his birth is not known. He has mentioned the year of his birth in his autobiography, "My Life and Struggles" as 1890.

Early in the book he writes "I was born in Uzmanzi village in Peshawar district in 1890. At that time, people normally did not mention their birth date. The date of my birth has also not been mentioned by anybody. I claim the year of my birth as 1890 because my mother used to tell me that in the year of my elder brother Doctor Khan Sahib's wedding I was just 13 years old.

Since my brother married in 1901, I can say that I was born in 1890." Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan is the son of a great Khan, Bahram Khan, from central Pashtoonistan. He got his elementary education at home for his family was educated. Later his father sent him to school at a time when agents of the British invaders were disseminating the idea that a school education makes one infidel. He himself has written about this: "My father sent me and my nephew Mohabat Khan to a mosque for studying I studied Holy Quran under Imami Khan. My brother was studying in a Peshawar school. Later, he enrolled me to the same school. Afterwards, he left the school and joined another one in the same city. Then he left school and started working."

He further says: "Being involved in work in school at the time of examination after one year, I again wanted to join school. I talked about this to Abdul Hakim, younger brother of Abdul Aziz, the mullah of our village."

He joined a school in Kamalpur and, after some time, he again left school and went to Alizai. He learnt a lot from his travels and also through his meetings with scholars. He says that, although his father was a great Khan, he was always with the poor people.

Young Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan learnt a lot from his own people and country. He became a hardline fighter for the independence of his

motherland. To enlighten his people, he believed schools and madrasas as a vital necessity. He writes: "During those days, ignorance brought about very oppressive conditions. There was no order and principle either in government or the nation. Education had no fixed role to play. There was scarcely an elementary school in a village. Mullahs prevented boys from joining school. Under such condition I pledged to establish Islamic schools and madrasas throughout my country." In 1910, Maulawi Abdul Aziz and I set up a madrasa in Uzmanzi. At the same time we started intensive work to set up schools in other villages. I turned the attention of my people to knowledge and inspired a desire in their hearts for self-development."

Relentless struggles and the noble stand of Abdul Ghafar Khan did not meet the approval of the British and their local stooges. That was why he was put into jail time and again. His long sufferings never daunted him or made him change his stand. For the popularisation of literacy, he set up a free school in Uzmanzi. But local reaction rewarded him with imprisonment. He was in jail for 18 months.

In 1921 we were preparing a football ground, when I was arrested by the local police for the 40th time. They brought me to the Peshawar central jail. Abdul Akbar was also with me. He was arrested because he was a Bolshevik according to the police. The British were dividing the various tribes from one another for the continuation of their rule. They told the Hindus that Pashtoons are only killers and did not have any regard for their development and progress. Afterwards, he was sent to Deraghat Khan jail where Hindus and Sikh leaders were also imprisoned. He soon became closed to all prisoners as a result of which confusion and misunderstandings about them vanished.

Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan remained a genuine fighter as he bore all hardships and tragedies with fortitude. He is called by his people 'Fakhr-e-Afghan' (Honour of Afghans). Baba (Pa-pa), etc. He was awarded the honour of 'Fakhr-e-Afghan' at a grand session of Eshahul Afghana Association.



Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan

He established a paper, called 'Pashtoon', to establish Afghana made great contribution to the growth of Pashtoon literature, poetry and culture. It organised literary and poetry function and provided opportunities to Pashtoon writers and poets. It also introduced new and progressive ideas to the literature and poetry of Pashtoon people. Revolution, freedom, brotherhood and equality were the main topics of literature and poetry.

Ghafar Khan inspired his sons, Ghani Khan and Wali Khan, to take to literature, poetry and politics. He has established numerous schools, papers and journals for the uplift of his people. His literary or oratoric achievements will be immortal for all Pashtoons and to people in the Indian sub-continent.

This year he went for medical treatment to India where he is called Frontier Gandhi. His was a major role in the independence of the Indian sub-continent. He and his brave followers have fought for independence side by side with Indian people. This year he has been honoured with the highest Indian award, 'Bharat Ratna' in recognition of his great services in the freedom of India.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1987

## More hectares for autumn crop in Kabul

KABUL, SEP. 18 (BIA) — In the autumn sowing campaign of the current year, 37,700 hectares would be cultivated in Kabul province.

According to a spokesman of the agricultural department of the province, 19,790 hectares were cultivated in the province in the spring, sowing with wheat, barley, other grains and vegetables, the harvesting of which is continuing with the cooperation of the agricultural department and mechanised agricultural stations.

For the spring sowing this year, over 6185 tons of fertiliser, 380 tons of improved wheat seeds, over 7 million Afis worth of pesticide and insecticide and Afis 1,108,450 credit of the Agricultural Development Bank, were distributed to individual peasants and members of cooperatives in the province.

Three mechanised agricultural stations, which have between them 26 tractors, 10 combines, 20 threshers and three tractors are serving the peasants in Kabul province with a total membership of 4680.

9/19

Afghanistan has started studies in hydrology and glaciology. Two laboratories for studying air pollution have been set up in Kabul.

Soviet and Afghan specialists have launched a large-scale study of Afghanistan's climatic, agricultural and water resources. A TASS correspondent was told at the USSR State Committee

for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control.

The Soviet Union also helps Afghanistan extensively in training personnel for the Afghan weather service, both at Soviet higher educational establishments and special courses in Afghanistan where the trainees are taught by experienced Soviet engineers. 8/23

## National reconciliation

In order to voice the call of the party and state of the DRA an NR commission has been set up in the Ministry of Interior. It has started work. The commission has appointed and dispatched special groups from different departments of the ministry to the main centres for receiving reparates located in Herat, Farah, Nimroz, Kandahar, Pakitika, Nangarhar, Kunar and Kabul international airports.

The groups carry out specific tasks in these centres such as control of board and lodging facilities of the reparates in the camps, tackling the problems of drinking water and electricity, and eliciting the views and proposals of our compatriots regarding the NR policy. Ensuring of security in reparates and camps also constitute one of the basic tasks of these groups.

To further assist the reparates, the Ministry of Interior has also allocated an amount of 57.7 million Afis and mobilised it to the frontier baranday commands for the purpose.

About 50 voluntary works have also been undertaken by the commission, in which over 1,713,300

Afis were earned and deposited in the Reparates Fund. The officers of Taranday units and detachments of the ministry also voluntarily deposited an amount of 8,974,700 Afis to the account No. 50,000 for the reparates.

More than 14,630 repatriate families have been rendered financial assistance through the NR commission and the Ministry of Interior and 11,940 patients treated by the doctors of the ministry. The commission and its related groups not only carry out their activities in the villages and districts of Afghanistan for the realisation of the policy of national reconciliation, but also assist the inhabitants in their reconstruction work in their settlements and mosques.

Besides, the Minister of Interior and departmental heads of the ministry also sometimes visit the centres for reparates and, after assessing their problems, they give necessary instructions to personnel and organs for a speedy redressal.

(By Humayoun)

9/22



Fazlur Rahman

A new song entitled "We are the heretic Taranday" was recorded for Radio-TV of the DRA in preparation for the Taranday day to be ob-

served on October 1. The song was composed by Ghulam Jalilani and sung by Fazlur Rahman Wahdat.

Fazlur Rahman Wahdat is a young poet and artist of the country. Twenty-two Pashtu songs have so far been recorded by him for the Radio-TV of the DRA, majority of them written by himself. Most of his poems have revolutionary themes. Collections of his poems are ready for Publication. (Our Reporter Nafisa)

SEPTEMBER 6, 1987

# Kabul's first literary association

British colonialism left traces of great damages to the literature like other social and economic catastrophes in the 19th century Afghanistan. But, the heroic uprising of the Afghan people in 1919 which resulted in the restoration of national independence, opened new horizons of hope to our people. Together with important positive changes in political and economic spheres, great steps were taken for the development of culture and art mostly during the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan.

A nationwide campaign was launched against illiteracy, schools were built throughout the country, books, journals, newspapers and periodicals were published in the capital and other cities.

The first literary association in Afghanistan was established in June 1931 in Kabul city.

The association was named "Anjuman-e-Adabi Kabul" (Kabul Literary Association). It carried out fruitful activities to mobilize eminent scholars, writers, poets and leading intellectuals. Improvement of Pashto and Dari literature, unification of composition, expansion of general education, projecting the moral and material progress of the society, reviving ancient literature, development of literary translation and criticism were among the major activities of the association. It also acquired more dimensions. Folklore, vocabulary and popular literature sections were added to it.

Prominent poets, authors and researchers were contributors to the Kabul Literary Association.

Among its famous members were Malik-ul-Shuara Qari Abdullah, Mohammad Nawar Basmel, Ghulam Shaiyeh, Abdul Haq Balikh, Mir Ghulam Hazrat Shaiyeh, Ghulam Sarwar Goya Etemadi, Abdul Rahman Pashkwa, Abdul Hai Habibi, Abdul Rauf Benawa, Ghulam Ahmad Nawid, Ghulam Jalil Amani, Abdul Ali Mostafaei, Mir Ghulam Mohammad Ghubar, Mohammad Sarwar Saba, Sayed Sami Roshnia and others.

Mohamad Anwar Khan Basmel was the first general director of the association. It was the first literary association in the country made its appearance. It promotes ideas to improve the style and unification of composition and writing.

It works for encouraging authorship and strengthening of language and increasing the number of creative minds — writers and translators — and fosters patriotic ideas through publications.

It maintains contact with foreign and Afghan literatures and enthusiasts of literature.

The association is comprised of eight regular associates and nine honorary members.

Kabul Magazine, a monthly with a beautiful format, was the first publication of Kabul Literary Association and came out on June 3, 1931.

The magazine used to publish various articles on different topics of literature and science and to introduce prominent literary and historical figures. Besides, it carried ethical and satirical poems and other items to

encourage budding talents as well as comments and essays on literature, linguistics and poetry.

The magazine was published about a month or 90 pages in the beginning and 100 pages later. It had high position as one of the mass media of the country.

The annual subscription rate was as following: In the capital (Kabul), 12 Afis; provinces, 16 Afis; abroad, half a sterling pound; top students, free; other students, half price.

The Anjuman-e-Adabi Kabul laid the foundation of present day Afghan literature and paved the way for its progress. The outstanding members of the association had devoted their whole life and work for the revival of our prosperous past literature.

The Writers' Union of the DRA undoubtedly a great cultural gain of April Revolution, was established on the same foundation. The union with its activities in various fields — fiction, poetry literary criticism etc. — and through publishing the works of young writers is playing a role of immense importance in the growth of contemporary literature.

(M. Ismael)

## A short history of Afghan press

After the victory of the April Revolution the mass media of the country was restructured on democratic lines. The press in particular was transformed into a vehicle for raising people's awareness, a mirror reflecting their cultural features, needs and interests.

Numerous books, articles, essays and poems which would never be published before the revolution were published and many progressive, writers and journalists took leading posts in various cultural and educational organs of the PDDA.

Social and professional organizations were authorized to start their own publications and periodicals.

Fraternity, nationalities of Uzbeks, Turkmen, Baluch and Nooristanis won the right to publish their own periodicals in their native languages.

As a result, 12 newspapers and 17 journals sprang beside the traditional ones. During the first revolution year over 900 titles of books with a total volume of 30 million copies were printed and distributed for cultural and educational enrichment of the people.

At present, 27 dailies and weeklies with total circulation of 48 million copies are published in Kabul and other cities of the DRA. Besides 43 theoretical, professional and public journals and illustrated magazines are published by diverse interested groups. On a recent assessment of

the politburo of the CC of the PDDA it is envisaged that the mass media of the country will be radically restructured to meet the needs of the country ever more effectively.

The early stages of the Afghan press, the first lithograph machines were imported from India during the 2nd reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan (1863-1879). Marking the first signs of departure from a medieval life, the first printing machines were installed in Balaikisar of Kabul.

Besides the printing of state documents, titles, regulations and leaflets, soon the first newspaper (Shamunnahar (Morning Sun)) appeared which carried informative and enlightening articles, commentaries as well as domestic and foreign news. Shamunnahar also reproduced regularly articles from several English, Arabic, Urdu and Turkish newspapers which reached Kabul periodically.

Later, during the reign of Amir Abdurrahman Khan (1880-1901) more lithograph machines were imported and some were even installed in the court. During this time a number of books on history and theology along with pamphlets on military and tax regulations as well as state documents were printed with limited circulations. Tajutawarikh (Crown of Histories) written by Amir Abdurrahman Khan himself, works of Ayetha Durrani, Tuzuk

-i-Napoleon (a history book), Jehannuma (a geography book) and Shoghbuneh (a book on astronomy) were among the major books printed in the court press house.

With the rise of the constitutionalist movement, many young writers found the opportunity to publicise their enlightening ideas concerning the prevailing national problems. Under the pressure of this movement the first issue of a new newspaper, Sarajulakbar (star of papers) was published on January 11, 1906, during Amir Habibullah's reign (1901-1919). Appearing twice a month the paper carried mostly domestic and foreign news, editorials, and political comments on 36 pages. However, since the British authorities of India who had Amir Habibullah also on their payroll could not tolerate further publication of the paper, a few months later it was banned.

In October 1911 once again Sarajulakbar appeared in 1600 copies with Mahmood Tarzi, a liberal member of the court as its editor-in-chief. The paper was intended for children Sarajulalaf (light of children) also started publication besides Sarajulakbar in 4 pages. The newspaper published interesting and educational material for youngsters.

Press in the decade of independence (1919-1929)

The movement of the constitutionalists which was multiplied by the

national liberation movement put an end to the British domination and the reign of absolutism in Afghanistan.

After independence a well-equipped letter press named Amani Afghan press was installed in Kabul which printed numerous periodicals, journals, and books. In this decade patriotic and radical literature emerged and ideas of modernization and independent development were shaping the thoughts of the post independence generation. For the first time, a journal Ershadunnawar (women's guidance) started its publication under which the call for democratic supervision which called for women's emancipation and involvement in socio-political life of the country. Printing houses were installed in the provinces and for the first time periodicals were printed and distributed in the major towns of Afghanistan.

FREE PRESS

The first segment of free press also appeared in this period. Three private newspapers, Anis (1927), Naseen-Sarav (1927) and Nauruz (1928) started their publications.

In 1928, an internal rebellion broke out in the country which was instigated mostly by British colonialists ruling the Indian subcontinent. This nine month turmoil marked the end of the decade of modernization and the beginning of a conservative era (1929-1933).

During the following four decades, printed material came under firm state control and the

state publications lost their radical and awakening character, leading to greater resentment of the post independence intelligentsia except for short intervals in 1950s and 1960s. In the 1950s, under the pressure of progressive circles several papers namely Balaik-Kabul (People's Call), Wozlue (masses), Angar (Flare), Millat (Nation), and Payam-e-Afghan (Afghan message) appeared and started propagating ideas and aspirations of various political circles mostly demanding expansion of people's representation in decision making bodies as well as views on other national and state affairs.

However, due to the antagonism which existed between the then regime and the prevailing popular demands, not only the private papers were banned, but most of their representatives in the parliament were also jailed for extended periods.

Secondly, in mid 1960s, once again under the pressure of political circles, especially the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, over 30 private newspapers and weeklies started publication (most of these papers served as political papers of their respective circles).

Khaliq, (the masses) organ of the PDDA which published views and analyses of the party of

domestic and foreign articles appeared on April 11, 1966. However, on May 13, 1966 it was banned after its 6th issue. The party resumed its publication once again under the name of Parcham banner on March 14th 1968. Parcham was also banned after its 96th issue in 1970.

2/18

the free press of the 1960s acquainted the people with new type of literature, ideas, and values, leading to further crystallization of popular demands and the sharpening of contrasts between the state and free press.

The then state was left with only two alternatives: either further restrict or allow democracy to grow.

The choice was made, and the power was transferred to Dawood in 1973, who allowed no private papers and regarded any public gathering exceeding four persons an anti-state act and therefore as illegal. However, the reign of repression was soon ended with the victory of the April Revolution in 1978.

(By: J. Daulah)

# ORGANIZATIONS

KOMITEE ZUR UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER  
POLITISCHEN FLÜCHTLINGE IN AF-  
GHANISTAN e.V. (KUPFA) (Assis-  
tance Committee for Afghan Po-  
litical Refugees.

Klosterallee 78  
2000 Hamburg 13  
West Germany  
420 50 33/44

Shaheen Town  
St. #9  
Jahangir Abad  
University Town  
Peshawar



Founded in 1979 to provide hu-  
manitarian aid to Afghan refu-  
gees. Publish Afghanistan-Blät-  
ter. Has regional groups in  
West Berlin, Detmold, Frankfurt,  
Hannover & Siegen.\*

Afghanistan-blätter (8/87) car-  
ried the following list of So-  
lidity Committees:

SOLIDARITÄSKOMITEES MIT AFGHANISTAN IN EUROPA  
Belgien  
Comité Afghanistan Belgique 4, rue St. Quentin, 1040 Bruxelles  
Bundesrepublik Deutschland  
Ärztevereine für afghanische Flüchtlinge e.V.  
Privatstraße 1, 3330 Helmstedt  
Afghanischer Rat  
Gr. Reichenstr., 27, 2000 Hamburg 11  
Afghanistankomitee Bamberg  
Gastbarkestr. 6, 8600 Bamberg, Tel. 0951/62192  
Afghanistan-Nothilfe e.V.  
Alter Markt 24/25,  
4050 Mönchengladbach, Tel. 02161/393250  
Arbeitskreis Afghanistan e.V.  
Lotusweg 34, 5000 Köln 50, Tel. 02236/67899  
C.A.R.E.-Deutschland  
Wesselstraße 12, 5300 Bonn 1, Tel. 0228/639863/64  
Deutsche Afghanistan Stiftung e.V.  
Adenauer Allee 11, 5300 Bonn 1, Tel. 0228/221404  
Deutsches Afghanistan Komitee  
(vormals Bonner Afghanistan Komitee)  
Meckenheimer Allee 91, 5300 Bonn 1, Tel. 0228/693240  
F.A.S.A. Alexandergraben 9, 5100 Aachen, Tel. 0241/24195  
Freundeskreis Afghanistan e.V.  
Oranienstraße 159, 1000 Berlin 61, Tel. 030/8258353  
H.E.U.P. Kaiserplatz 3, 5300 Bonn 1, Tel. 0228/216068  
Komitee zur Unterstützung der Politischen Flüchtlinge in  
Afghanistan e.V. (KUPFA)  
Klosterallee 78, 2000 Hamburg 13, Tel. 040/4205033/44 -  
484461 - 4604434  
Verein für afghanische Flüchtlingshilfe e.V. (VAF)  
Kaiserplatz 3, 5300 Bonn 1, Tel. 0228/225503  
Verein zur Unterstützung von Schulen für afghanische Flücht-  
lingskinder e.V. Wissenweg 43, 2000 Ostseebek,  
Tel. 040/7122417 - 7128162  
Frankreich  
AFRANE (Amitié Franco-Afghane) BP 254,  
75524 Paris Cedex 11  
Bureau Afghanistan International 24, rue de Chaligny,  
75012 Paris  
Médecins sans Frontières, 106 Bd. Lefevre, 75015 Paris  
Aide Médicale International, 100 bis rue Bobillot, 75013 Paris

Mouvement de soutien à la résistance du peuple afghan  
20 rue Pierre Brosselette, 93130 Noisy-le-Sec  
Gröbtkantien  
Afghan Support Committee, 18 Charing Cross Rd., WC 2 NOHR  
London, Tel. 01/3797218  
Niederlande  
Komitee Afghanistan Vrij Gravenstraat 8, Amsterdam  
Italien  
Comitato Afghanistan passato e presente, Via Marigliano,  
34 A Firenze, Tel. 350695  
Comitato di solidarietà con la Resistenza del popolo  
dell'Afghanistan, Via Frassinago 49, 40123 Bologna  
F.I.A.P., Casella Postale N 13093, CAP 00184 Roma  
Norwegen  
The Norwegian Afghanistan Committee, POBox 1773 Vik,  
0122 Oslo 1  
Österreich  
Österreichisches Hilfskomitee für Afghanistan,  
Lichtensteinstraße 13, 1090 Wien, Tel. 0222/346518  
Socialist Committee for Afghanistan, POBox 4, 1013 Wien  
Schweden  
Svenska Afghanistan Kommittén, Tavastgatan 43,  
11724 Stockholm, Tel. 08/842204  
Schweiz  
Comité Afghan d'aide humanitaire, Case postale 169,  
1211 Genève 1  
Comité genevois de soutien au peuple afghan, Case postale 95,  
1211 Genève 3  
Comité valaisan de soutien au peuple afghan, 1912 Leytron  
Association Suisse des Amis de l'Afghanistan,  
Chemin du Levant 15, 1005 Lausanne, Tel. 021/220420  
Schweizerisches Afghanistan Archiv 4410 Liesthal  
Spanien  
Asociación de Ayuda a los Refugiados Afghanos  
Jorge Melgarejo Dupl. 10, 28002 Madrid  
SOLIDARITÄTSKOMITEES MIT AFGHANISTAN IN DEN USA  
Afghan National Democratic Committee POBox 17622, CA  
90071, Los Angeles Walter Hulen, 3603 'B' Arcadia Pl., El Paso,  
Texas  
SOLIDARITÄTSKOMITEES  
MIT AFGHANISTAN  
IN DER DRITTEN WELT  
Argentinien  
Comité Argentino de Solidaridad con Afghanistan (CASA)  
Dr. Néstor Perí, Rivadavia y Río Bamba, Sala 303,  
Buenos Aires  
Kolumbien  
Enrique Daza, MOIR, Apartado Aéreo 12320, Bogotá  
Mexico  
Desarrollo Humano Integral a.c., Av. Constituyentes 561,  
Col. America, 11820 Mexico D.F.  
Peru  
Comitato por la libertad de Afghanistan, Lima

## AFGHAN CULTURAL ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION

2150 Shattuck Avenue  
Suite 900  
Berkeley, CA 94704

415-453-3011

Robert Darr, Director

\*

### Regionalgruppen:

Berlin/West: c/o Miraga Moshref, Steinmetzstr. 40, 1000 Berlin 30, Tel. 030/2154179  
Detmold: c/o Ataulah Zulficar, Heidebach 24, 4930 Detmold, Tel. 05231/89128  
Frankfurt: c/o Fiorenza Solaini, Jordanstr. 5, 6000 Frankfurt 90, Tel. 069/704949  
Hannover: c/o Neamad Kodadad, Torstr. 17, 3000 Hannover 1, Tel. 0511/802889  
Siegen: c/o Joachim Gerstein, Trupbacher Str. 145, 5900 Siegen, Tel. 0271/370138

AFGHAN RETURNING TO  
BATTLE by Michael  
Pritchard in the As-  
bury Park Press, 9/1.

**FREEHOLD TOWNSHIP** - Ra-  
himdad, an Afghan freedom fighter  
who has been treated this summer at  
Freehold Area Hospital for a shrapnel  
wound to the hand, is going home.

Rahimdad, 37, left yesterday for  
Washington, where he was to join 11  
other Afghans who have been receiv-  
ing care in the United States. The  
group was to travel to Pakistan. From  
Pakistan, Rahimdad expects to cross  
the border and rejoin his comrades in  
their war against the Soviet occupa-  
tion force and the Soviet-backed Af-  
ghanistane regime.

Rahimdad came to the United  
States in late March to have his left  
hand surgically rebuilt after a wound,  
suffered five years ago in a battle with  
Soviet troops, left him without any  
flexibility in his hand. Sen Frank R.  
Lautenberg, D-N.J., arranged for Ra-  
himdad to receive care through the  
Intergovernmental Committee for Mi-  
gration. The committee is based in  
Washington and asks politicians  
around the country to sponsor treat-  
ment for wounded Afghan fighters.

Three operations have been per-  
formed on Rahimdad's hand. A new  
thumb joint was created, the tendons  
in the hand were realigned and a piece  
of tendon from Rahimdad's leg was  
used to replace missing tendons in his  
index finger during the procedure. The  
operations restored nearly 80 percent  
usage to the hand. ■ ■ ■

During his stay in New Jersey,  
Rahimdad was shown many of the  
sights, including racing at Freehold  
Raceway and the ocean at the home  
of his interpreter Abdul Hamid, who  
lives in Belmar. Hamid, an Afghan  
national, received a doctorate in edu-  
cation in the United States and later  
moved here in 1984.

"Most of all, Rahimdad wanted to  
see McDonald's," said Hamid. . . .

Rahimdad was a farmer before the  
war but his farm was destroyed during  
Soviet air raids. He has a wife and six  
children who are still living 75 to 80  
miles outside of Kabul, the Afghan  
capital.

DRA delegates to the 42nd UNGA:

Representatives

H.E. Mr. Abdul Wakil  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Head of the Delegation of the Democratic  
Republic of Afghanistan

H.E. Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost  
Ambassador and Permanent Representative  
Deputy Head of the Delegation of the Democratic  
Republic of Afghanistan

Mr. Abdul Ghafor Joushan  
Director of the Department for United Nations  
Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Ajmal Khaibari  
Director of the Department of International Conferences,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Mohammad Eshaq Roshan-Rawaan  
Minister Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Democratic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the United Nations

Alternates

Mr. Ghani Beresh  
Department of the International Financial and Economic  
Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Ebrahim Nengrahary  
First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Democratic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the United Nations

Mr. Mohauddin Taeb  
First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Democratic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the United Nations

Mr. Haji Mohammad Razmi  
Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Democratic  
Republic of Afghanistan to the United Nations.

EVENTS. Cont. from p. 1

An INTERNATIONAL WALK FOR AFGHANISTAN was held on 10/18. Organizations taking part (that we heard about) were the Afghan Community in America, whose members from Jamaica (NY) & Saugerties walked in Kingston, NY, and the Free Afghanistan Alliance, whose members walked in Boston.

"Reporting on the War in Afghanistan" was the title of a lecture given by Arthur Bonner on 10/27 at Columbia Univ. under the auspices of the CENTRAL ASIA CENTER & the GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM.

At 16 Wheeler swam the choppy Strait of Dardanelles separating Asia and Europe.

At 17 he killed a man-eating tiger in the jungles of Vietnam. He's also discovered a cannibal tribe, been involved in six guerrilla wars over the past four years ... and journeyed to more than 130 countries on all seven continents!

FILM REVIEW

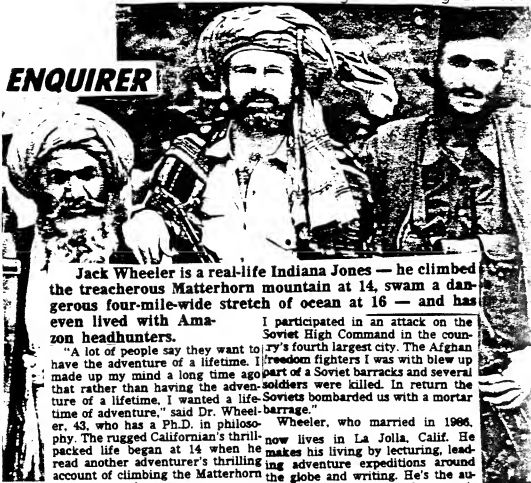
Amir, a film by John Bailey and Wayne Derrick. UK, 1986, 52 min. 16 mm and video formats.

Shot in 1985, this film portrays the life of an Afghan refugee and musician now living in the city of Peshawar, Pakistan. Afghan music is popular with the Pashtun population of the Northwest Frontier. The film portrays the working life of Afghan musicians and something of their social life and integration into the Pakistani musical profession. It illustrates themes of exile and jihad in refugee music, and the emotional predicament of the refugees, without bathos or polemic. The film is extremely evocative of refugee life, as well as informative about professional musicianship in the region. It is also esthetically pleasing, well filmed with a frank and unpretentious approach to the presence of the filmmakers in the events filmed, and with segments of live-audience performance which allow the uninitiated a substantive impression of the musical tradition in question. The film is highly recommended. For distribution information write or call the Royal Anthropological Institute, 56 Queen Anne Street, London W1M 9SLA, England. (Tel: 01-486 6832). As the newsletter goes to press, distribution arrangements have not yet been worked out for the USA, and it is hoped that inquiries will speed the Royal Anthropological Institute to make necessary arrangements.

-Margaret Mills

Middle East & South Asian Folklore  
Newsletter, #4,3 Fall 1987

Jack Wheeler (center) fought with Afghan rebels



Jack Wheeler is a real-life Indiana Jones — he climbed the treacherous Matterhorn mountain at 14, swam a dangerous four-mile-wide stretch of ocean at 16 — and has even lived with Amazon headhunters.

"A lot of people say they want to have the adventure of a lifetime. I made up my mind a long time ago that rather than having the adventure of a lifetime, I wanted a life-time of adventure," said Dr. Wheeler, 43, who has a Ph.D. in philosophy. The rugged Californian's thrill-packed life began at 14 when he read another adventurer's thrilling account of climbing the Matterhorn in Switzerland. . . .

In recent years, the gutsy adventurer has traveled with guerrilla fighters in Nicaragua, Suriname, Angola, Mozambique, Cambodia and Afghanistan. "I've dodged bullets, watched guerrillas execute a spy in Mozambique, walked the parched earth of Ethiopia," said Wheeler. "One of my most dangerous experiences was in Afghanistan when

I participated in an attack on the Soviet High Command in the country's fourth largest city. The Afghan freedom fighters I was with blew up several Soviet barracks and several soldiers were killed. In return the Soviets bombarded us with a mortar time of adventure."

Wheeler, who married in 1986, now lives in La Jolla, Calif. He makes his living by lecturing, leading adventure expeditions around the globe and writing. He's the author of the book "The Adventurer's Guide."

"Last year I led a one-month expedition of 10 people 2,500 miles across Tibet. And this month I'm leading another expedition from Peking to Kathmandu," he said. "My life has been crowded. But I'm convinced the best adventures still lie ahead!"

- JAMES McCANDLISH

NATIONAL  
ENQUIRER

Oct. 20, 1987

8/29 - PT - 60,000 Afghan refugees living in Quetta will be shifted to RTVs near the border areas. The Gov't of Baluchistan plans to provide employment for the refugees near the camps & has earmarked Rs. 6.3m for the move.

8/30 - PT - Air Marshal (Ret.) Asghar Khan, chief of Pakistan's Tehrik-i-Istiqlal party, arrived in Kabul. He is the 2nd Pakistani politician to visit Afghanistan. Gulbuddin said that Ashgar Khan should have visited Afghan refugee camps before going to Kabul. (See 9/7)

9/2 - BIA - The USSR will give the DRA Rubles 9m worth of medicine & medical equipment this year.

9/3 - BIA - The RC Presidium approved a 7-article decree on the "readmission of officers" & military pension payments; ratified a regulation regarding military awards; & approved the creation of ministries of Domestic Trade, External Trade & Professional & Technical Education.

9/4 - PT - Canada will supply C\$ 8m worth of wheat and 6m worth of edible oil for Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

9/5 - NYT - Afghanistan asked for a special session of the UN-sponsored Geneva talks and is expected to offer a shorter timetable for the Soviet troop withdrawal. Pakistani officials, who want a 7-month timetable expect the Afghans to offer a 12-15 month plan. The US & the USSR will meet in Geneva from 9/15-17. Afghanistan will be one of the discussion topics.  
- BIA - DRA Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil is on a friendly visit to Austria.

9/7 - NYT - Military experts have advised UN mediator Diego Crodovez that the USSR will need a minimum of 8 months to remove all its forces from the DRA because of the country's poor road system.

- SCMP - "Pakistan will participate in the forthcoming talks with an open mind," according to Pakistan's Foreign Minister. Pakistan expects positive talks and a fair settlement. Asghar Khan, back from Kabul (see 8/30), said Islamabad should adopt a "flexible attitude," and that the DRA wants a peaceful settlement.

9/10 - PT - The chief of the Bakhtar News Agency was expelled from the PDPA for violating DRA "instructions to accelerate the campaign against narcotics & drinking of alcohol." A number of senior DRA officials in Helmand were dismissed for "committing irregularities in the distribution of Soviet assistance."

- Laghman Province is suffering a serious food shortage since Soviet forces left the area in July. Heavy fighting near Kabul has ruined the harvests in that area.

- BIA - The 1st issue of Irshad-e-Islam (Islamic Guidance), the organ of the High Council of Scholars & Clergymen of the DRA, came out today. It will carry articles in Pashto & Dari & appear every Wednesday.

9/11 - Asbury Park Press - A car bomb exploded in Peshawar injuring 17 people.

- AICMR #78 - Cholera is reported in Kandahar & Ghazni. 15 civilians & mujahids have died.

- 9/12 - SCMP - On the Geneva talks:

GENEVA: The United States has backed Pakistan in dismissing as inadequate an Afghan offer to send home in 16 months 115,000 Soviet troops backing Kabul's communist regime against Muslim insurgents.

Pakistan yesterday blasted a much-heralded peace initiative by Afghanistan, calling it a propaganda ploy to diffuse criticism about the continued presence of Soviet troops in the country.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Mr Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, after four days of United Nations-sponsored talks in Geneva, said: "They (Kabul) called us to this meeting at short notice and the request was accompanied by indications that something substantial was in the offing."

But no offer came during

the first two days and then Kabul said it was willing to trim a timetable for the departure of some 115,000 Soviet troops to 16 months from 18, he said. ...

Pakistan made a counter offer for Soviet troops to leave within eight months of the signing of a UN peace plan but Kabul then called off the meeting. At the previous round in March, Islamabad wanted the Russian troops out in seven months.

Mr Yaqub Khan said the Afghan delegation gave no explanation for why it made the surprise request that a round of talks be arranged hastily.

Afghan Foreign Minister Mr Abdul Wakil behaved throughout as if Pakistan had called the session and kept demanding that Mr Yaqub Khan produce a new offer

- BIA - In addition to its Dari Transmissions, the "destructive radio station of the Voice of America is to start its Pashto transmissions soon...With the start of its 6-hour Pashto program, the per week volume of adverse publicity...against Afghanistan will be doubled."

9/13 - NYT - Recently the Kabul regime has sent good-will emissaries to 66 3rd world & Islamic capitals to try to gain int'l acceptance. The DRA has persuaded Cyprus & Zimbabwe to upgrade their diplomatic representation. (See p.16)

9/14 - PT - Maulana Shah Ahmed Moorani, President of Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, will visit Afghanistan & Iran shortly.  
 - BIA - On the recent Geneva talks, a Bakhtar observer says: "If political will is shown by Pakistan in the next phase of the talks, accords will certainly be reached on the timetable & other unsolved questions such as the Iran factor & the role of the UN..."

- Sulaiman Laeq, Minister of Tribes & Nationality Affairs, met the participants of the 1st jirgah of Hazaras (see p.31). The Minister of Islamic Affairs, Abdul Jamil Zarifi, told the group about DRA facilities for the "free performance of religious rites."



SULAIMAN  
LAEQ

9/15 - BIA - A 4-year "protocol of mutual direct cooperation" in different socio-economic fields between Moscow & Kabul was signed. (On 9/17, Bakhtar reported that the 1st stage would be a Soviet gift of Rubles 1m to Kabul.)

- LA Times - Mujahideen shot down an AN-26 transport plane as it was landing at Kunduz on 9/13. The 6 crew members & 9 passengers were killed. On 9/1 another AN-26 was shot down near Khost.

9/16 - BIA - 44,000 Kabul families will get 40,000 tons of coal this year.

- Cooperation documents in the energy & power field were signed by the DRA & the USSR.

- A conference was held in Kabul on the preservation of Afghanistan's ancient & historical landmarks.

9/17 - An explosion in Peshawar injured Gulbuddin. (See 9/22 & p. 15).

9/19 - BIA - Cooperation protocols have been signed between various DRA provinces & Soviet republics, i.e., the Ukraine & Parwan; Kolab Province of the Tadzhik SSR & Takhar; Qarghan Tepa Province (Tadzhik SSR) & Kunduz; Minsk (Byelorussia) & Kunar; the Moldavian SSR & Ghazni; Charjoi Prov. (Turkmen SSR) & Faryab; Alma Ata (Kazakhstan SSR) & Kandahar; Grodno (Byelorussia) & Laghman.

2/20 - London Times - Saira Shah reported that some Afghan guerrillas had sold 36 Stingers to the Iranians (see p. 7).

9/22 - SCMP - Najib offered a deal to Shi'ite Muslims to join the nat'l reconciliation. Concessions include generous state aid for regions where Hazaras live. (See p.31).

- NYT - The Reagan Administration will send 120mm mortars & explosive cords (to clear paths through mine fields) to the mujahideen to help them lay siege to Soviet & DRA military bases. The decision to send the materiel was made earlier this year & the equipment is to arrive "before the snow falls."

- UN Press Release HR 3163 - Felix Ermacora, Special Rapporteur for the UN Human Rights Commission, concluded a visit to Pakistan on 9/17. He met with Pakistani gov't officials, refugee representatives, Afghan tribal elders & opposition leaders and legal & medical experts.

- BIA - A Kuwaiti news agency reported that the attack on Gulbuddin (see 9/17) was made by the "Real Islamic Organization of Afghanistan" which says that Gulbuddin killed tens of thousands of Afghans at the instructions of his American masters.

- The DRA claims that "more than 30 bands, supported by Iran have infiltrated the territories of the Hazaras."

9/23 - Outlook (Santa Monica) - Mujahideen are operating 6 miles from Kabul, fighting fiercely in Paghman, returning to the Shomali basin & have stopped a major DRA-Soviet column that was "cutting a swath of destruction" on the road linking Badakhshan, Takhar & Kunduz.

9/24 - BIA - Najib inaugurated a "political military university" in Kabul. Nat'l reconciliation will be high on the curriculum.

9/27 - NYT - Pakistan calls for a UN force:



Mr Junejo

The Prime Minister, Mohammad Khan Junejo, said in an interview that the United Nations force would help maintain law and order while a new Afghan government, acceptable to Communists and non-Communists alike, established control over the country.

The Prime Minister warned that the Soviet forces might "never leave" Afghanistan if Moscow feared that the Communist supporters it left behind would be driven from power and persecuted by the guerrilla forces that have been fighting them.

Mr. Junejo warned that the Afghan "freedom fighters will want to rule" when the Russians pull out. But he said "they can't rule alone," adding that a political system must be constructed that "looks after the others," meaning supporters of the present Government.

He said the job of devising a political system acceptable to Communists and non-Communists should be entrusted to the Loya Jirgah, or Great Council of the Afghan Tribes, which traditionally meets at times of national crisis. He called for the convening of the Loya Jirgah to set up a government of "national reconciliation" as soon as Moscow set a withdrawal timetable.

9/28 - BIA - The DRA will issue 46 new postage stamps this year - 14 have already been produced.

- A solar energy research center was opened at the Academy of Sciences in Kabul.

- Najib was elected as a delegate to the upcoming PDPA party congress by the Takhar, Kandahar, Kunduz & Bamian party organizations. This shows that "party leadership enjoys confidence of the PDPA members & the party ranks have got political & organizational maturity."

9/30 - BIA - Najib was unanimously elected President of the RC & the RC Presidium. Haji Moh'd Samkani will become the 1st Deputy Sec'y of the RC Presidium (see 10/1).

- The Outlook - Najib escaped an assassination attempt in Kunduz on 9/20.

- NYT - The US Congress suspended new American aid to Pakistan for 6 weeks while they explore the issue of Pakistan's nuclear program. For 6 years Pakistan's role as a base for the Afghan mujahideen has had priority in Congress which, in 1981, exempted Pakistan from the 1976 law banning US aid to countries that import material to develop nuclear weapons & refuse to allow inspections.



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8/27

10/1 - NYT - What's in a name?

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Sept. 30 (Reuters) — Najib, the leader of Afghanistan's Communist Government, is restoring the Islamic element in his name and reverting to Najibullah. The Afghan press agency, monitored here, instructed all Afghan information outlets today to describe him henceforth as Comrade Dr. Najibullah. He has a medical degree from Kabul University. "Najib" means "noble." The suffix "ullah" means "of God."



Najibullah

(Bakhtar on 10/6

reported that Najibullah said he changed his name at the request of the RC after he was elected President. It was more dignified.)

- The DRA PSFO celebrated a week of solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico.

- The 1st Congress of Craftsmen was held in Kabul. A 72-member central council was established.

- BIA - DRA Communications Minister Aslam Watanjar signed a protocol in Moscow on 9/30 for a joint Soviet-DRA space flight. 4 Afghan cosmonaut candidates will go to Moscow next January & the 2 who are selected will begin training in February.

- Workers in the Karkar coal mine have extracted 79,000 tons of coal this year.

- The 2nd nation-wide PDPA Congress opens tomorrow.



10/6 - BIA - To commemorate the 2nd PDPA Congress, construction of an Afs. 15m recreational park was begun in Mazar-i-Sharif. Work also began on the 1st phase of the master plan of Hairatan city.

- The frontier districts of Badakhshan will be electrified within a month.

- The Youth & Students Assn. of Afghanistan for the UN was established to promote peace, etc., & the aims & principles of the UN.

10/10 - NYT - A bomb exploded in a Volkswagen near Sher-Pur mosque in Kabul killing 27 & wounding 35. (The 10/14 Hartford Courant reported that the casualties may have been as high as 72 killed & 100 wounded.)

10/11 - (Torrence, CA) Daily Breeze:

Boxing great Muhammad Ali was cheered Saturday in Peshawar, Pakistan, when he told a tent full of Afghan refugees that they were greater than "the Greatest" — himself, of course.

Ali, accompanied by his wife, Yolanda, visited the sprawling Nasir Bagh refugee camp to distribute cans of milk he brought to Pakistan at his own expense.

Referring to Afghanistan's nine-year civil war and Soviet intervention, the former world heavyweight champ said: "You are much greater than I because you are fighting a much bigger power than all my boxing matches combined.

"You are fighting the greatest power in the world and giving them all the hell they want."



ARMAND HAMMER

10/12 - Washington Post - Iranian Ambassador to the UN Said Raji Khorasani, appearing on "Meet the Press," said Iran did not necessarily purchase the Stingers. "There are other ways we could have gotten them. We could have gotten them from certain American middlemen." (See p. 7.)

10/15 - NYT - US Defense Sec'y Caspar Weinberger said that the Iranians may have "requisitioned" Stingers from the Afghan guerrillas (see p 7).

- In Moscow Armand Hammer said that he was shuttling between the USSR, Kabul & Pakistan in hopes of persuading the major parties in the Afghan conflict to accept a coalition gov't with the participation of ex-king

Nadir Shah "I'm acting in a purely private capacity as a private individual," said Dr. Hammer, adding that he was keeping State Department officials informed of his contacts.

The 89-year-old Dr. Hammer said, "I appear to be the only person talking to all three" leaders who are the key to any potential settlement - President Reagan, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, and President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan. . . .

10/17 - Washington Post - In a news conference in Moscow yesterday, Armand Hammer said that Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze had personally dispatched him on a peace mission to Afghanistan. Excerpts follow:

The assignment for Hammer, the head of California-based Occidental Petroleum, comes a week before U.S.-Soviet talks on the Afghan war are due to take place here. When Secretary of State George P. Shultz arrives for talks Oct. 22-23, the war will be one of the principal items on the agenda, a U.S. official said.

He said that when he met yesterday with Shevardnadze, the foreign minister told him that party leader Mikhail Gorbachev had indicated that Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Afghanistan within a year.

"I think Mr. Gorbachev will give his word, set a date and keep his word," Hammer said. "He's very pragmatic. He's very decisive."

Hammer is scheduled to fly to Pakistan Sunday for talks with President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, who maintains close links with rebel Afghan factions and representatives of 3 million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan.

Next week, Hammer plans a trip to Rome for possible meetings with former king Zahir Shah, ousted in 1973, and his son-in-law.

Najibullah told Hammer that the son-in-law would be accepted as prime minister.

10/18 - Various radio stations reported that the CIA is sending Texas mules to the Afghan mujahideen. A disease has killed many of the local pack animals which are used in transporting supplies.

10/19 - Washington Post - Reuter reports that the 7 main Afghan guerrilla groups in Peshawar have elected Yunis Khalis 1st President of the alliance.

- Najibullah acknowledges problems:

Afghan leader Najibullah acknowledged that his government's policy of national reconciliation was running into difficulties, with Army units facing problems on the ground from U.S.-backed rebels and the ruling Communist Party riven with factional infighting.

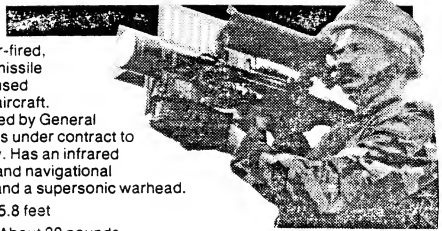
The Afghan leader told the opening session of a three-day Afghan Communist Party conference in a speech in Kabul, reported by the official Soviet Tass news agency that "not all Army units" were able to face the enemy.

"Not all problems of the armed forces have been solved," he said, explaining that the situation since the national reconciliation had been proclaimed last January was "more complicated" than previously thought.

"The national reconciliation policy has not yet become irreversible," he said. Najibullah told the 677 delegates present that 1,600 villages had gone over to the side of the authorities in the last 10 months. The government now controlled "more than one-third" of inhabited villages, 45 towns and 214 districts and rural districts, he said.

The Afghan leader held out a new olive-branch to the Pakistani-based opposition forces, offering them representative offices in Kabul on condition that they showed willingness to compromise. Future contacts with the foreign-based rebels needed to attract "moderate and neutral forces," he said, stressing that the ruling party did not want to retain a monopoly on power.

# Stingers



Shoulder-fired,  
guided-missile  
system used  
against aircraft.  
Developed by General  
Dynamics under contract to  
the Army. Has an infrared  
homing and navigational  
system and a supersonic warhead.

Length: 5.8 feet

Weight: About 30 pounds

Range: 3.4 miles

NYT 10/17

On 9/24 the following article appeared in the Iranian paper, Kayhan. \* Chris Brunner translated it for the FORUM.

"The US has halted new deliveries of Stinger missiles to the mujahidin. Sources close to the mujahidin cite, as the reason, the unauthorized sale of these missiles to the Islamic Republic. Apparently about 17 loads of missiles have been turned over, in exchange for cash & other compensation.

One of the guerrilla leaders declared that interruption of the deliveries has weakened the guerrilla's combat readiness in western Afghanistan. It is believed that the Stingers have helped the guerrillas achieve notable successes... The US began deliveries about a year ago, & the missiles' effectiveness is attested by heavy [DRA] gov't losses.

Two leaders of the Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan were involved in the sale of Stingers to the Islamic Republic. They gained about \$1m in the transaction, & since its occurrence relations between the HIA & the Islamic Republic have markedly improved. The weekly Sunday Times of London cited the names of the sellers as Molla Mohyi Allah Nimrozzi & Molla Faqir Ahmad Anardari. They denied the sale & claimed that the Islamic Republic captured them on Iranian territory & seized their missiles.

American officials regard western Afghanistan as unreliable, in view of the number of Shiites & the connection between the region's inhabitants & the Islamic Republic. One observer said: Although leaders of the guerrilla forces swear on the Koran that they have no connection with agents of the Islamic Republic, still, in contradiction to their oath, they sell arms & missiles to the Islamic Republic. These leaders do not have any feeling of patriotism."

\* London

...On the Stingers, Khalis said a five-truck convoy trying to cross a swollen river in western Pakistan's Farah Province was a few hundred yards into Iran when border guards tried to stop it.

The guerrillas mistook them for Afghan government troops and opened fire, killing one, Khalis said through an interpreter. When Iranian reinforcements arrived, the guerrillas tried to flee but only three trucks escaped, he said. The remaining two trucks, weapons and ammunition were taken to the Iranian border town of Zahedan.

Khalis said that when news of the incident reached Peshawar, the Iranian consulate assured him it would return the equipment, but later reneged. ---

THE WASHINGTON POST

The following excerpts are from an article by Stephen Engelberg & Bernard Trainor in the NYT of 10/17:

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16 — Administration officials say intelligence has established that the Stinger missile parts found on an Iranian attack boat in the Persian Gulf this month were part of a batch supplied by the United States to Afghan guerrillas, who lost them to Iranian forces in June.

The officials said the Afghans lost the missiles in a skirmish with Iranian troops who surprised them after they crossed the Iranian-Afghan border.

The officials said that there were casualties on both sides from the exchange of fire, but that after the Iranians called in reinforcements, the guerrillas were overwhelmed and their supply of as many as 30 Stinger missiles was taken by the Iranians.

## Pakistanis Ask Return

Administration officials said the capture of the missiles touched off an intense round of diplomatic activity in which Pakistani officials and the Afghan Islamic guerrillas, appealing for solidarity with the Islamic cause, tried to persuade Iran to return the missiles. American officials said they believed the talks, which are continuing, now had little chance of success.

The United States said the missile parts, including a battery marked with a serial number, were found aboard two Iranian patrol boats captured by the United States Navy in the Persian Gulf on Oct. 8 after American helicopters came under fire.

American officials say they are convinced that reports that the Afghan groups had sold some of the missiles to Iran are untrue.

"We have no reason to doubt there was a firefight," one knowledgeable Administration official said. He declined to provide details on what intelligence had been used to verify the Afghans' version of events.

But several officials cautioned that the investigation was continuing and that the possibility remained that the Afghan guerrilla commanders might not have told the whole truth. ---

... Congressional committee members were concerned about the possibility that the Stingers could have been sold to Iran as part of the covert American arms dealings with Teheran. ---

As pieced together from accounts by more than a half dozen Administration officials, the loss of the Stingers occurred in early June when a group of Afghan rebels under the overall command of Yunus Khalis were making their way along the southwest corner of Afghanistan in Nimruz Province, near the border with Iran.

The officials said that because the group came to a river too deep to ford it was forced to change course and crossed into Iran. By another account the Afghans were running short of gasoline and decided to search for fuel inside Iran. In any event, the officials agree that they were in Iran when they were discovered by Iranian forces.

It could not be learned who fired first, but the exchange of gunfire was so sharp that the Iranians called in reinforcements, the officials said. After taking the Stingers, the Iranians let most of the Afghan guerrillas return to Afghanistan. One Afghan was detained along with the weapons.

Initially, the weapons were kept in a border town, according to one Administration official, who said they were later moved to a warehouse in a nearby Iranian provincial capital.

## Iran Demands Afghan's Visit

Meanwhile, the negotiations between Pakistan, the Afghan forces and Iran got under way. The Iranians, the officials said, did not rule out returning the weapons. But the Iranians said that since there had been casualties, Mr. Khalis, the Afghan leader, would have to go to Teheran in person to discuss the matter. Mr. Khalis, one official said, has refused to make that trip out of fear for his safety. ---

Officials gave various estimates of the number of missiles seized by Iran. One said 30 missiles had been lost, while two others said the number was between 8 and 10. ---

# Soviet deserters in Afghanistan

## Russian troops now fight with Mujahidin

Andrew L. Eiva

Most Afghan leaders still do not believe live prisoners are worth the cost and risk of keeping them alive. They see anyone in a Soviet uniform as an enemy to be killed. Soviet soldiers justifiably assume they will die if they desert or surrender.

Yet, in sheer desperation, they still desert and surrender. Thanks to a small handful of Afghan commanders who already take and hold live prisoners, nearly 300 Soviet soldiers/prisoners have now survived.

The Russians Vadim Plotnikoff and Vladislav Naumov deserted the Soviet garrison in Jalalabad to join an "anti-Soviet brigade" in 1984. However, the "brigade" was only a Red Army rumor. Nevertheless, they fought for the *HIZBI ISLAMI* of Khalis for almost two years, and ended up in Canada last November.

Plotnikoff and Naumov owe their lives to a farsighted Afghan commander willing to risk help from Soviet turncoats, a tough decision in the resistance.

Even more unusual is the Soviet soldier captured in Kunduz in 1980 who adopted the Islamic name of "Taj Mohammad," for the next five years he fought for the *ARAKAT ISLAMI*, rising to lead several dozen guerrillas in 1986. "Taj Mohammad" is the first, but hopefully not the last, Soviet deserter to do so. So far, however, these rare exceptions only prove the rule that "Soviet prisoners die."

In my work with the Afghans in the first year of the war, I did not find the mujahadeen holding a single live Soviet prisoner. But the situation slowly improved.

In the winter of 1981, I discussed this with the leader of the *HIZBI ISLAMI*, Hekmatyar Gulbaddin, whose group had some Soviet prisoners. He described the sacrifices his men made to take and hold prisoners. They were a continuous security problem. Men had died guarding them. Other hungry Afghans resented the food for the Soviet "murderers."

The Foreign Minister of the *HIZBI ISLAMI* told me "We have now captured our first platoon (26 men) of Soviets. If you people can pressure

your government to provide the material and political support we need, we will provide brigades (thousands)."

Several years ago, Solzhenitsyn wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that if the West was serious about helping the Afghans, two battalions of Soviet deserters (Soviet battalions number over 300 men each) would already be in action in Afghanistan.

Right now, the Afghan aid program puts no priority on Soviet deserters nor does it exploit the tremendous political and propaganda value they have.

A policy to encourage more deserters, and an appropriation by Congress for real items (such as: transport and resettlement for those desiring resettlement, facilities for the prisoners, ability to secure safe base camps, etc.) has the potential to dramatically increase Soviet desertions and defections in Afghanistan.

A small scale resistance experiment (without American assistance) in January of 1984 demonstrated the potential of the program. In the Shomali valley, north of Kabul, three resistance commanders declared a "safe zone" for Soviet deserters and put up leaflets to that effect. Over twenty Soviet soldiers took advantage of the offer in the next month.

Soviet retaliatory bombings and strafings of local villages forced the commanders to call it off. But now, with the Stingers to fend off air strikes, the time has come to try again.

Each deserter is a visible sign of Soviet failure in Afghanistan. Each deserter is one less Soviet fighting the Afghans, one less that must be beaten in combat. And each Soviet deserter is voting the only meaningful way available that it is time to get out!

We brought this up to the key White House official dealing with this issue in an off-the-record briefing on April 27th. The official was sincerely sympathetic to the idea, but explained that the administration won't act. □

Andrew L. Eiva is Chairman of the Federation for American Afghan Action.

A letter to the editors of the NYT published on 8/30/87:

I am a librarian who has just returned from a month of travel and study in the Soviet Union. I am fluent in Russian. While in Leningrad on Sunday, Aug. 3, my son (who is also fluent in Russian) and I witnessed a demonstration that seems not to have been reported in the United States. Here is what we saw and how we interpreted it based on conversations with Russian bystanders.

We were sitting in the park across from the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, near the statue of Catherine the Great, at around 2 P.M. when we heard loud chanting coming from Nevsky Prospekt. People began running toward the Nevsky, and we followed. Along the Nevsky, a group of about 200 young men in blue berets was marching quickly and chanting, though it was unclear what they were saying beyond "raz," "dva," "tri," "chetyre" (1, 2, 3, 4). They were followed by two or three militia cars.

They turned left before the Fontanka Canal and proceeded to Marsovo Pole, a park with a memorial to Russians who died during the civil war following the 1917 revolution. They knelt in a large circle near the memorial for a moment of silence and then laid a wreath. A few words were spoken, but they were inaudible where we were standing. The young men began to greet one another, hugging, kissing and sharing cigarettes. They kept to themselves and then quickly moved on. We decided not to follow, since it appeared the main action had occurred, and it was unclear if anything else would happen.

During the march from Nevsky Prospekt to the park people either followed the procession or stared in disbelief and curiosity. It was unannounced, unexpected and unclear as to purpose, since no placards were carried. On the other hand, the demonstrators clearly had permission from the authorities, who followed them, but kept their distance.

From the blue berets and at the park it became clear that these were veterans of the fighting in Afghanistan having a reunion in Leningrad and laying a wreath in honor of their war dead. Since one asked me where St. Isaac's Cathedral was, I assume some were from other parts of the Soviet Union. In the buzz of information being exchanged in the crowd, it emerged that the march was meant to increase public awareness of the Afghan war, the sacrifices being made and of the need for a special memorial in recognition of the war

MILITARY 8/87

and its cost.

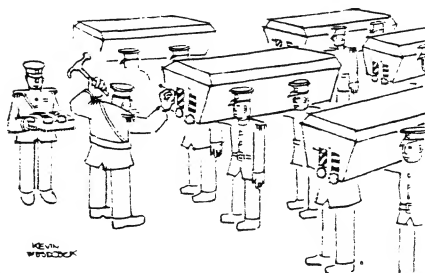
The men marched down Nevsky several times again that day. We heard and saw them for the last times at 11 P.M. and 1 A.M. from the window in our hotel, the Evropeiskaya, near the Nevsky. The crowd of marchers had dwindled to about 50, but was still very loud. It was followed by more militia in cars who did not, however, interfere with them.

The Russians I spoke with on the street and in our hotel were very curious about the march and its objective. Some expected a report on the television news or in the next issue of *Lenin-gradskaya Pravda*. There were no reports, however, since this type of news and reporting is not what glasnost is all about.

DENNIS KIMMAGE  
Plattsburgh, N.Y., Aug. 17, 1987

The writer is head of reference at the Feinberg Library, State University College at Plattsburgh. NYT 8/30

From *Private Eye* (London), 2/20



**SOVIET soldiers returning home from battle-scarred Afghanistan are finding that there are no monuments to their fallen comrades, no hero-worship. STEVE GOLDSTEIN reports from Moscow.**

MANSUR Sadykov was born 22 years ago in the town of Pyandzh in Tadzhikistan, where Afghanistan can be seen just across a river. He crossed the river in 1983 and his life became a nightmare.

"I saw no difference between Afghanistan and my home," said Sadykov while reminiscing the other day. "I served as a soldier-translator, because even the language and customs were like ours."

"When Afghan soldiers from a kishlak (village) called us for help and we came, the shooting surprised me. Everyone hid and I stood upright not understanding why they were shooting at me. It was unbelievable, but after injuries and the death of my friends it became clear that the war was there."

In its eighth year, the war is still everywhere in Afghanistan. Wounded three times in battle, Sadykov was discharged two years ago. He is part of a growing legion of veterans from the first Soviet conflict since World War II, which is known here as the Great Patriotic War.

Unlike the Great Patriotic War, when dead, injured and survivors alike were unanimously hailed for their heroism, the Afghan war has caused a schism in Soviet society. Wounded veterans have complained about difficulties in getting jobs and houses. Grieving parents have encountered difficulty in having obituaries printed or having gravestones reflect that their sons were killed in Afghanistan.

In a country filled with monuments to the fallen of battles past, none was erected to honour the dead of Afghanistan until this month. Now one

stands in Dushanbe in Tadzhikistan, memorialising a hero who died seven years ago.

Encouraged by the atmosphere of *glasnost*, the debate has been opened in the official newspapers. In August, the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* printed a lengthy article — mostly in the form of letters to the editor — about official callousness toward the families of soldiers killed in action and the welfare of wounded men.

"What are we ashamed of?" a construction worker wrote to *Pravda*, complaining that a local newspaper had balked at printing an obituary after his son was killed in action.

More recently, in a letter to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the party newspaper for the Young Communist League, Sergei, aged 20, wounded and discharged while serving in Afghanistan, told of dropping in at a cafe in the town of Krasnodar.

Two young women were sitting in front of him, across the aisle from a young soldier in a uniform decorated with two medals.

"I was surprised when I heard these girls criticise aloud the guy because he had attached these 'iron pieces' that tinkled," said Sergei, himself wearing a combat ribbon. "I felt hurt and I felt pity for him."

"Why speak about my red stripe if even awards for service in battle cause irritation? Isn't it allowed to wear what one deserves? One of my teachers even told me I shouldn't show

off. I didn't answer him. I couldn't find the words."

In another letter, S. Ponomarenko wrote: "Why is there still no monument in Moscow or in Leningrad erected in honour of lads our age killed in Afghanistan while fulfilling their internationalist duty?"

Perhaps the debate began last winter with the release of the daring film *Is It Easy to Be Young?* For the first time, soldiers — some barely out of their teens — spoke openly about their disenchantment with the war in Afghanistan. One young veteran said he was ashamed to wear his combat medals in public.

"I'm waiting," he said, "for a better time."

Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan in 1979 to help the communist government there fight a widespread insurrection by Muslim guerrillas backed by the United States and several Islamic nations. About 115,000 Soviet troops remain, according to most reports.

The Kremlin has not said how many Soviet troops have been killed in Afghanistan. Some Western analysts have put the Soviet toll at 10,000 dead and wounded.

Locating Soviet veterans of the Afghan war is not an easy task, for there is no umbrella organisation concerned with their welfare.

Ultimately, some colleagues in the official Soviet media were able to help, finding four veterans who would be in Moscow. All were in some way associated with Komsomol, the

Young Communist League.

The four, well-dressed in suits and ties for their interview, said that as veterans they were accorded certain privileges common to all veterans: priority in finding housing and entering educational institutions, free transportation passes, extra vacation time and passes to health resorts.

"We cannot say that everything is good," said Sergei Morozov, at 30 the oldest of the four, who now lives in the Ukraine and works at a metallurgical plant. "There are some cases when the attitude is not considerate, so we cannot say that everything is smooth."

Alexander Pivovarov, aged 22, who is living in Moscow and attending the Teachers Training Institute, blamed some local leaders and bureaucrats for failing to fulfil their responsibilities with regard to veterans.

None of the four said they knew any aggrieved soldiers personally, nor did they think the problem was widespread.

Morozov, a sergeant, was an "old man" of 22 when he came into active service. It is not hard for him to recall the first day he killed someone.

Seeking to destroy a gang of "dushman", or bandits, the term used by the Soviets and their Afghan allies for the mujaheddin, or Islamic holy warriors, Morozov's platoon cornered them in a village.

"From one of the houses, a dushman ran with a child of four or five years old under his arm, using her as protection," he recalled.

"A comrade who was with me shot in the air to attract the dushman's attention, and he turned to shoot his machinegun, putting the child to one side. At this moment, I killed him. The child lived."

SCMP 10/3

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM



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NEW YORK, NY 10021



#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Center <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>
DRA	- Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER	- <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
IHT	- <u>International Herald Tribune</u>
KNT	- <u>Kabul New Times</u>
NFF	- National Fatherland Front
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- <u>New York Times</u>
NYCT	- <u>New York City Tribune</u>
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- <u>Pakistan Times</u>
RC	- Revolutionary Council
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- <u>South China Morning Post</u>
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA	- Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ	- <u>Wall Street Journal</u>

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the  
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

Please send items for the AFGHANISTAN FORUM to  
The Afghanistan Forum, Inc.  
201 East 71st Street, 2K  
New York, NY 10021, USA

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Subscription rates: \$20 per year (US & Canada) (Add \$5 for FORUM PAPERS)  
\$24 per year (foreign); airmail Europe - \$35; Asia \$40.  
6 issues/year \$35 per year (institutions) \$45; \$50.  
(includes FORUM PAPERS)

ISSN 0889-2148